

NOTES ON TORREY'S TRANSLATION OF
THE GOSPELS

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PROFESSOR TORREY's new translation of the Gospels has more importance than a mere substantiation of a thesis might be expected to have. Whether or not his theory of a written Aramaic (and in part Hebrew) original of the four Gospels is correct, there can be no doubt of the value to New Testament scholarship of a critical translation made by so competent a Semitist and biblical student as the author is universally acknowledged to be. And lest this brief note of appreciation be taken as the conventional tribute paid by the disapproving critic before he attempts to show that the author's theories deserve less polite treatment, the reviewer wishes to make clear that he has studied the arguments for translation-Greek advanced in Torrey's essay on "The Origin of the Gospels" and has examined a fair amount of the evidence without any preconceived notions about Torrey's ability to prove his points. Since the issue of proprietary interests has been raised in the essay, where it is remarked that non-Semitists are inclined to reject the translation theory, the reviewer ventures to make the personal remark that his special interest happens to be the philological problems of translation-Greek and that he is quite without prejudice in the matter of deciding between Semitic and Hellenistic idioms in the New Testament. Perhaps it is not unnecessary to add that he has refrained from forming any conclusion (although he has considered the matter before, in reading Wellhausen and Dalman particularly) before carefully weighing a considerable amount of evidence presented by Torrey.¹

¹ It would have been impossible to comment in this review on all of the suggestions made by Torrey on all four Gospels. The reviewer has therefore chosen the first fifteen chapters of Matthew (and the synoptic parallels) as test-material. The conclusions reached may not be valid for John's Gospel.

First we may discuss the general arguments and illustrations offered in the appended essay (pp. 237-286) referred to above, and then proceed to study the corrections and the explanatory notes on the first half of Matthew. The instances of supposed mistranslation will be considered under two heads: first those that are said or implied to involve graphic mistakes, such as the misreading of unvocalized forms in Aramaic, wrong division of words and the like; then instances of supposed linguistic mistakes, such as misunderstanding of Aramaic idiom, too literal translation and so on. This division into two types of alleged mistranslation or "uncouth" Greek has been made because of the obvious possibility that though Torrey may not have succeeded in proving his theory that written Aramaic and Hebrew sources underlie the Greek Gospels, he may have succeeded in showing that in some cases the Greek can better be understood or only understood by retroversion into Aramaic (or Hebrew). In such cases we might say, in partial disagreement with Torrey, that the Greek sources, for example, Mark and Q, reveal the influence of Aramaic idiom, especially in the sayings of Jesus, because of the Greek writers' use of oral traditions in that language, or because, as some scholars claim, the authors of the Gospels "thought in Aramaic."

1. TORREY'S ESSAY ON "THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPELS"

Everyone knows that Jesus and his earliest disciples spoke Aramaic. Most scholars also recognize that there are Semitisms in the Greek of the Gospels. One obvious reason for their being there is that the Gospel writers either quote or paraphrase the Septuagint, which, for the most part, sacrifices Greek idiom in the interest of fidelity to the Hebrew original; it would also be natural to expect Semitisms in works dealing with the experiences and sayings of Jesus and his Palestinian contemporaries, which could not always be appropriately expressed in the Greek spoken and read by Gentiles.

The problem to which Torrey invites our attention is, however, whether the Semitisms are so frequent and noticeable that we must recognize the Gospels not as original Greek compo-

sitions but as translations from Aramaic (and, in a few passages, from Hebrew) written sources. He feels that they are written in "uncouth" or "barbarous" Greek, and holds that the only explanation of their linguistic defects is the assumption of underlying Semitic documents to which the Greek translators, who gave us the present texts, were tied down.

Unfortunately it is not always clear exactly what Torrey means by "uncouth" or "barbarous" Greek. He assures us (p. 237) that each of the four Gospel writers "shows himself well acquainted with the details of morphology and syntax. . . . In the large vocabulary which they use there is nowhere to be found any barbarous or otherwise questionable element." On the other hand, "they all write uncouth Greek, on page after page, but by no means in the manner of unlearned men. . . . The peculiarity of the language lies solely in the idiom, which is more or less distinctly Semitic." One might reasonably ask wherein the Semitic idiom consists if the Greek morphology, syntax and vocabulary are all acceptable. Of course, the matter becomes clearer when specific instances of Aramaic idiom are given in the notes. But this general issue must be raised not with the mere dialectic intention of pouncing on trivial inconsistencies or vaguenesses in Torrey's argument, but to show the difficulty of evaluating his judgments about such sections as John xxi and Acts xvi-xxix which he says are written in a pure Greek idiom in contrast with the other portions of these respective books. He himself points out the fallibility of his "Sprachgefühl" when he tells us (p. 331), "I once thought that traces of translation could be seen in this chapter (John xxi.) . . . Closer study has shown me my mistake. The idiom of the chapter is not Semitic but acceptable Greek throughout, thus differing markedly from every other part of the book."

Again it is a little strange to find him saying (p. 274) that "Greek Mt. is a prince among Biblical translators, and his work is uniformly admirable. . . . Luke . . . is the one whose work is most readily recognized as a translation. His manner of rendering is meticulously faithful, and the result is very often a painfully literal phraseology," and yet to find that in all of the instances out of those examined (they are not, to be

sure, more than three or four) where there are variants in the Matthew-Luke parallels, it is Matthew who mistranslates, according to Torrey, and Luke who correctly renders the Semitic idiom. One must also be skeptical of Torrey's ability to discover that Luke was ill acquainted "with usage peculiar to *Palestinian* Hebrew and Aramaic." How much non-Palestinian Hebrew and Aramaic of the first two centuries A.D. has Torrey or any other scholar read?

The marked difference in style between John xxi and the rest of the Gospel is not so apparent to the reviewer as it may now be to Torrey after closer study, but it would not be fair to express an opinion without further examination. As to the alleged change (p. 243 f.) from the "awkward Aramaic-Greek" of the first half of Acts to the "vernacular Greek of excellent literary quality" in the latter half, the reviewer agrees on the whole with the criticism of Torrey's position expressed by de Zwaan in Jackson-Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity* ii. 30-65.

The introduction to Luke's Gospel, which Torrey pronounces a pure idiom of literary Greek, seems to the reviewer an admirable illustration of how a Greek-writing Jew or Christian was likely to think in "Jewish Greek" on occasion, as Luke does when he uses the word *πεπληροφορημένων*. The ordinary meaning of this word is "fulfil an obligation or requirement" or "satisfy a creditor"; in this passage the meaning is quite different, "to bring to pass." A Gentile would certainly have been puzzled by it. Why did Luke use it? Borrowing Torrey's words in commenting on *μεταίρειν* (p. 242), we may ask whether the language were not well supplied with words meaning "to accomplish"? Obviously Luke was thinking of the biblical use of *πληροῦν* and its cognates.

In objecting to the theory of an "artificial religious dialect" (a rather unsatisfactory description of biblical Greek which is not translated from the Semitic but influenced by the Septuagint or Jewish usage), Torrey remarks with mild irony (p. 240), "Luke, the accomplished writer, is supposed to have chosen to commend religious truth to Theophilus, and to make propaganda among cultivated Gentiles, by writing barbarous Greek. Josephus knew better than to do this; so did Paul." The irony,

however mild, is somewhat unfortunate. In the first place, the Greek Gospel of Luke with what Torrey calls its "barbarous" Greek *was* successfully presented to the Gentiles, to whom it could be of little interest whether it was "barbarous" because it was a translation or because the author was influenced by the Septuagint or for any other reason. The fact remains that the present Greek Gospel was published abroad with all its imperfections in style. In the second place, it is not so sure that Paul "knew better than to do this." The only knowledge we have of Paul's Greek style of preaching and writing hardly indicates that he spoke or wrote a pure idiom of vernacular Greek. It must certainly have sounded "barbarous" to the Gentiles, with its curious uses of prepositional phrases and its very special religious vocabulary. And Josephus is hardly a good example for Torrey's purposes. In the first place, he was not commending religious truth to the Gentiles; he was making political and cultural propaganda, which is quite a different thing. In the second place, he had able assistants to correct and polish his Greek; when one compares certain passages in the *Life* and *Antiquities* xx with the *Bellum* or *Antiquities* xv-xvii, one sees the differences between the Greek of educated Hellenists and that of ambitious foreigners.

Equally unfortunate, the reviewer believes, is Torrey's choice (p. 245) of the prologue to Sirach to illustrate the difference between the product of one who was writing Greek in "flowing periods" and the "clumsy product" of his translation from Hebrew. To be sure the difference in style between the two is immediately noticeable. In fact it is so much more immediately noticeable than is the difference between the supposed translation-Greek and the original Greek of the New Testament, that the illustration weakens rather than strengthens Torrey's argument.

As for the author's statement (p. 266 f.) that "The very same arguments which are commonly employed to prove Lk. or Jn. a Hellenistic composition could be used with equal effect to show that the LXX Book of Judges was written in the vernacular, not in translation-Greek," it is so obviously an exaggeration that it requires no detailed refutation.

The theory that the Gospel writers "used the Greek language but thought in Semitic" by no means "completely shatters,"² as Torrey states (p. 240), "on the marvellous use of words by the evangelists." Who will deny that an educated person may learn to speak or write a foreign language fluently, command an extensive vocabulary, even learn a great number of idiomatic phrases, and yet, on occasion, betray the influence of his native language? One need only think of educated foreigners saying, "I have seen him yesterday" or "he succeeded to improve his position." Similar unidiomatic phrases might be found in the speech and writings of a great number of foreign scholars long settled in this country and long accustomed to write and think in English. From a recent article in a recognized academic journal, written by a well-known biblical scholar, the following examples are chosen at random: "In the year 65 C.E. the Jewish revolutionary army had a great victory over Cestius"; "the reason for this . . . is due to the fact that. . . ." The reviewer happens to know that this scholar has a command of English vocabulary quite as extensive as that of the evangelists in Greek — certainly more extensive than that of most Americans. The reviewer must express surprise that so experienced a linguist as Torrey can believe that "the marvellous use of words" (rather excessive praise) by the evangelists is proof that they were obliged to write "barbarous" Greek (also too strong a term perhaps) only because they were tied down to Aramaic or Hebrew documents.

Here the reviewer interrupts himself to say that these criticisms of the general argument for translation-Greek are made, not because of a conviction that Torrey's theory is mistaken, but because his argument has not yet been made convincing. A more conclusive verdict can only be reached after more detailed evidence has been examined, as will be done later.

The pages (249-253) devoted to a sketch of the spread of Aramaic in the pre-Christian period make interesting reading

² One is tempted to be facetious and note that "shatters on," in this sense, is a Germanism, cf. "scheitert auf," and might, on Torrey's own reasoning, indicate the use of a German document. Obviously he has read so much scientific German that occasionally he thinks in German, to the extent of using an academic phrase.

but they contain a section so elliptical as to be misleading. Torrey writes (p. 250), "Not only in western Asia, however, but also in Egypt and the Mediterranean lands, Aramaic was the language commonly spoken and written by the Jewish colonists. The younger Gamaliel, in his circular letter sent out from Jamnia to the countries of the Dispersion, at about the year 100, writes in Aramaic to 'the Golah of Javan' as well as to those of Babylonia and Media. In regard to Egypt, in the later Ptolemaic period, we have some more definite information.

"Throughout the Persian period, as is well known, and down to the time of the Mohammedan conquest, a period of about 1,200 years, Aramaic was by far the most important language of the great Semitic group." Torrey forgets to mention the fact that in the period after Alexander Greek was spoken in all places of the western Diaspora (that is north of Palestine and west of Mesopotamia) of which we have any knowledge. That Greek was the language of most of the Jewish colonists is the opinion of the most competent authorities.³ Torrey also forgets to mention the large and important Greek-speaking Gentile communities in Palestine, Galilee (notably Tiberias and Sephoris) and Transjordan in the first century of the Christian era. He might also have mentioned, though it is not essential in this connection, the rabbinic evidence as to the knowledge of Greek among the Jews of Palestine.

In the following pages Torrey attempts to show that the Gospels were written within twenty years after Jesus' death and addressed primarily to Jews (p. 257). "The one immediate purpose of all these earliest writings was to show to the people of the land that the long-awaited *Messiah* had appeared and that the New Kingdom was close at hand. This would mean nothing to the Gentiles, who could not feel the thrill of Mk. 8: 29; only the Jews knew the antecedents of the announcement and could understand its content. Aramaic was not only the literary language of nearly all Jewry; not only the idiom in which the deeds and words of Jesus and his disciples had been

³ Cf. Schürer, *Gesch. Jüd. Volkes* iii. 3rd ed., 93 f.; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, i. 365 ff.; Tcherikower, *Ha-Yehudim we ha-Yewanim*, 355 ff.

recorded from the first; more potent still were its sacred associations. Contact with the past, a true continuation of the Jewish religious tradition, was absolutely indispensable. Use of the Greek language would inevitably have repelled, and a support of prime importance would have been thrown away."

Need we remind so eminent a biblical scholar as Torrey that something more serious than the Greek language of the Gospels might have repelled Palestinian Jews, namely the central teaching of a crucified Messiah, and the evangelists' hostile attitude to the Pharisees and, on occasion, to the Jewish people as a whole? Moreover there is good evidence in the Gospels themselves as well as in Acts that soon after the crucifixion missionaries were sent to Hellenistic Jews in the Diaspora. Finally, we must repeat, the sources at our disposal indicate that Greek rather than Aramaic was the language of the western Diaspora. And if the message of the long-awaited Messiah "would mean nothing to the Gentiles," why did the leaders of the Jewish-Christian church find it best "to cut loose from their people and to adopt for religious use the language of the Gentiles" (p. 265)? Of course, they might have tried to convert chiefly Palestinian Jews at first, but neither Torrey nor anyone else can show how much later the Greek Gospels are than the supposed Aramaic originals. It is a reasonable assumption that when Paul preached to Jews and proselytes in the Diaspora he quoted the Old Testament and the sayings of Jesus in Greek rather than in Hebrew and Aramaic respectively.

Incidentally Torrey implies that the Greek Gospels of Mark and Matthew must have existed before the composition (not the translation, observe) of Luke, for he writes (p. 261), "It is evident that Luke refused, on principle, to include in his own Gospel any material not found in his own Semitic sources but merely in the Greek of Mk. or Mt. Hence, for example, his omission of Jesus' walking on the water." He also offers the conjecture (*ibid.*) "that Mk. was a compendium designed chiefly for the Jews of the Dispersion and for whatever missionary work they could accomplish in the *interval* . . . between the capture and devastation of the city and the triumphant return of the Messiah. . . . It seems possible to date this

Gospel exactly, in the year 40, on the ground of the very significant 'sign' vs. 14 in the long discourse of ch. 13." If Mark was composed chiefly for the Jews of the Dispersion, for whom was the Greek translation of Mark made, which Luke had at his disposal?

Torrey's explanation (p. 258 ff.) of the verbal and material variations in the synoptic parallels as "the usual result of oral transmission," and the examples he gives of the power of memory and the accuracy of ancient traditionaries seem to support the position of those who hold that the undeniable Semitisms in the Gospels (most of them in direct discourse) are due to the evangelists' use of oral traditions in Hebrew and Aramaic and in part to their familiarity with biblical Greek⁴ rather than to their use of documents in Aramaic and Hebrew.

One must, moreover, protest, at least mildly, at Torrey's confident statement (p. 268) that "Every one of the countless Greek phrases which have to be apologized for ('schützen' is a term frequently used by the German grammarians of the N. T.) mirrors classical Semitic usage; to this statement there is no exception whatever."

We have a right to expect that the alleged instances of unidiomatic translation from Semitic shall be shown to occur often enough to establish themselves as idioms in Hebrew or Aramaic. For that reason the reviewer questions the correctness of some of Torrey's explanatory notes, to be discussed below. It is ungracious, in the criticism of a theory which has not yet won general acceptance, to insist that the burden of proof rests upon the proponents of the new theory, and yet the critics are bound by the conventions of scientific inquiry to insist that something approaching "compelling proof" be given. Torrey, indeed, admits (p. 284) that "There is however no possibility of speaking, at present, of '*compelling*' proof!", but with genuine modesty he expresses the hope (p. 286) that "Later research will improve the demonstration which here is incomplete." The reviewer has ventured to question all of Torrey's

⁴ Torrey aptly reminds us (p. 279) that "for any bilingual scholar of that day many Hebrew words and phrases had their standing Greek equivalents, mainly provided by the Greek Bible."

general statements and to scrutinize the detailed evidence with complete skepticism except in the face of most convincing proof, in the belief that only through the philological give-and-take of the pro-Semitist and the pro-Hellenist (these are more satisfactory terms than "Semitist" and "Hellenist," since a Semitist may reject the translation-theory, while a Hellenist may accept it) can we come closer to a clearer understanding of what Jesus and his disciples really meant.

One linguistic point touched on in Torrey's essay remains to be discussed before the illustrations of mistranslation, cited in the essay, are examined in detail. Torrey's remarks (p. 270 f.) on the "enormous difficulties in the path of a translator of unpointed Semitic texts" are, on the whole, well chosen. But in one significant detail, in the matter of confusion between the active and passive participle of the simple conjugation (*pə'al*), he seems greatly to have exaggerated the difficulty. All our extant Aramaic material, papyri, inscriptions and manuscripts, indicate that normally the latter form was distinguished by the vocalic consonant (*mater lectionis*) *yod* between the second and third consonants of the root.

The reviewer is unable to agree with Torrey (p. 270) that the following verse contains an example of this particular kind of graphic error. Mark x. 12 reads *καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾶται*, which Torrey translates "and if she who has been divorced by her husband marries another, he commits adultery." He explains that "the same Aramaic could be read *pā'īrā l'gabrah*,⁵ 'divorcing her husband,' or *p'ṭīrā l'gabrah*, 'divorced by her husband.' The translator naturally chose the active voice, which had just been used; but the passive agrees with the Mosaic law, *with Lk. 16: 18*, and with the emphatic statement of Josephus, *Antt.* xv, 7, 10."

Not one of these arguments is convincing. In the first place, it is extremely unlikely that an Aramaic writer would have omitted the *yod* if he had meant to use the passive participle. Second, the Greek clearly makes *αὐτὴ* the subject of *μοιχᾶται*. Torrey makes the verb agree with *ὁ ἄλλος* understood. But the

⁵ Torrey's transliteration of Aramaic is kept in quotations from him; elsewhere a slightly different system is used.

Aramaic would clearly have shown whether *μοιχᾶται* was masculine or feminine, so that we must assume that the translator knew what he was doing in making the participle active. The context clearly shows that the verse means, "a woman who divorces her husband and marries another man, commits adultery (against her first husband)" — *ἐπ' αὐτόν* is understood. The fact that Torrey's rendering makes Mark agree with the Mosaic law (Deut. xxiv. 1 ff.) is hardly in its favor. The point is that this passage in Mark represents Jesus as *going beyond the Mosaic law*. The Mosaic and rabbinic law, so far from prohibiting the remarriage of divorced persons, expressly allows it. There were occasions on which a woman might divorce her husband, although usually it was the husband who did the divorcing. As for the passage in Josephus, it relates to Salome's act in divorcing her husband by sending him a bill of divorcement — *καὶ πέμπει μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ γραμμάτιον ἀπολυμένη τὸν γάμον οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους*. It was Salome's *way of divorcing* her husband which, Josephus says, was contrary to Jewish law; it was only the man, according to the Mosaic law, who could give his wife a bill of divorcement. Nor does the difference between the Greek of Mark and Luke xvi. 18 justify Torrey's correction. The context in Luke is clearly different; note the active *μοιχεύει* where Mark has the middle. Luke is not talking about the adultery which the divorced person commits against his or her former spouse, but about the adultery which the two men in question commit, the first against his wife, and the second against his wife's first husband. It is a reasonable supposition that Mark reproduces an oral tradition slightly different from that given by Luke; Torrey himself (p. 258) explains other such verbal variations as "the usual result of oral transmission."

Another kind of mistranslation is found by Torrey in Luke xix. 2, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι καλούμενος Ζακχαῖος καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀρχιτελώνης καὶ αὐτὸς πλούσιος*. He asks (p. 267), "Why does Luke write this miserable Greek? Even *ὁ αὐτὸς* is superfluous here, and the repetition of it is intolerable. He merely follows, word by word and exactly, the Aramaic (and Hebrew) idiom. Cf. Judg. 17: 7, *καὶ ἐγενήθη νεανίας ἐκ Βηθλεέμ δήμου Ἰούδα καὶ αὐτὸς*

Λευίτης καὶ αὐτὸς παρῶκει ἐκεῖ." Perhaps we should be less disturbed by this "miserable Greek" if Torrey had thought to remind us that there is good textual support for the reading καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀρχιτελώνης καὶ οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος or even καὶ οὗτος ἦν ἀρχιτελώνης καὶ ἦν πλούσιος. Possibly even one αὐτός is superfluous here, but not unexampled in Hellenistic Greek; cf. Josephus *Ant.* viii. 397. But what is more important is the fact that the passage in the LXX of Judges is no proof that this usage is idiomatic in Hebrew or Aramaic. The repetition of the personal pronoun is not, to the reviewer's knowledge, common in either language.

Nor can the reviewer agree with Torrey that an Aramaism underlies the "unpleasing" (the epithet is deserved) ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν of Mark i. 35 (cf. Luke iv. 42), which Torrey explains as a literal translation of Aramaic *naphaq we'azal*. It is true that 'azal "went away" is often used in combination with other verbs, just as the corresponding verb might, in other languages, follow the verbs "arise," "leave" etc. But the combination "went out and went away" is no more idiomatic in Aramaic than it is in Greek or English. The reviewer has read considerable Jewish Aramaic and does not remember coming across this particular pair; he may, of course, be charged with ignorance or a poor memory, but, in the absence of citations by Torrey, is bound to remain skeptical.

Torrey asks (p. 242), "Why, for instance, does Mt. in 13, 53 and 19, 1 employ the good classical word μεταίρειν in a sense unknown to Greek writers as though the language were not well supplied with words meaning 'to go away'? Evidently because he was 'thinking of' the Aram. verb *n'ʔal*, lit. 'to take up,' but widely used in the derived significance." But *nəʔal* seems not to be commonly used in vernacular Aramaic with the simple meaning "go away", "depart" of an individual; it is, however, regularly used in the Targum (translating Heb. *nāsa'*) with the meaning (intransitive) "remove (abode, tents, camp)" of nomads, nomad chief or armies; once, in Exodus, it is used of the angel accompanying the Hebrew host. Possibly it was this special (biblical) use of *nəʔal* which influenced Josephus, who uses μεταίρειν only once, *Ant.* i. 161, "Ἀβραμὸς Αἰγυπτίους

εὐδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος, μεταίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢν πρόθυμος. It seems unlikely that *naṭal* would have been used in an Aramaic narrative to describe the going away of an individual as in the Mt. passages; but it is just possible that the Greek writer "was thinking of" the (biblical use of the) Aramaic verb, as Torrey ironically puts it.

We must conclude this examination of the arguments and illustrations (at least those given in detail) of the essay on "The Origin of the Gospels" with the statement that Torrey seems not to have proved the case for translation-Greek throughout the synoptic Gospels. This does not mean that there *may not* have been some use made of Hebrew or Aramaic documents in some parts of the Gospels, but only that so far no cogent proof has been furnished that there *must* have been such documents before the writers of the Greek Gospels and that they used them throughout.

Let us now turn to the supposed instances of translation-Greek in the first half of the Gospel of Matthew, first dealing with those which are thought to show the use of written documents.

2. SUPPOSED GRAPHIC MISTAKES AND LITERALISMS

1. Mt. ii. 7 and *passim*.

Torrey note: The *τότε*, which Mt. employs some ninety times, renders Aram. *ḥdain*, "then, thereupon," used constantly in the Jewish Aram. of the Biblical period in carrying on a narrative. The other gospel translators wisely rendered it with various conjunctions and adverbs.

Observe that it is Matthew, "the prince of biblical translators," according to Torrey, who renders literally, while Luke, with his "painfully literal phraseology," has only a few instances of *τότε*. Observe also that in his book on the "Composition and Date of Acts" Torrey explains *τότε* in the "vernacular Greek" of Acts xvi-xxviii, as "an apparent Semitism . . . chargeable to the *κοινή*, though its presence may be due in part to the influence of the translation Greek which Luke had so extensively read and written." It would seem that *τότε* in Matthew also is due to the influence of biblical Greek.

2. Mt. ii. 23. κατώκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέθ ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.

Torrey translation: “. . . that he should be called the Branch.”

Torrey note: “He shall be called ‘Branch,’” *nēšer yithq’rē*, referring especially to Is. 11: 1. Since the residence in Nazareth is expressly declared to fulfil this prophecy, it was quite inevitable that the eye of the reader should see a double *yod*, making the first word *nāš’rāi*, “Nazarene.” Very probably this change had been made by a copyist before the Aram. text came into the hands of the translator.

It is unlikely that the Aramaic tradition (probably oral) quoted the Hebrew word *nēšer* from Isaiah xi. 1, which reads *nēšer miššorāšaw yiphrêh* “a branch shall grow out of his roots.” It probably had the word *nāšərai* “of Nazareth,” and in the manner of rabbinic exegesis let the reference to *nēšer* be understood from the resemblance of the two words. Note that the Targum, probably as old as the Gospel,⁶ renders *nēšer* by *məšīḥā* “Messiah.” There is no reason to question the correctness of Ναζωραῖος; nor is there clear proof of a graphic mistake or corruption.

3. Mt. iii. 16. βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἠνεώχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ εἶδεν κτλ.

Torrey translation: “As Jesus went up from the water after his baptism, lo, the heavens were opened. . . .”

Torrey note: The Greek mistranslates. The Aramaic was: *wē-iṣṭabba’ Yēshū, ū-mechdā dī s’leq mimmayā wē-hā sh’māiyā* etc. The translator was misled (as in some other passages) by the redundant “and” (in *wē-hā*).

Torrey seems to object to *εὐθὺς*; at any rate he reconstructs from it *mehdā*, meaning both “at once” and “thereupon,” “after that” in *Syriac*. There seems to be no trace of this form in Jewish Aramaic. If we were to render the Greek literally into Aramaic, we should have the particle *we-hā* “and lo!” occurring twice, since *εὐθὺς* in the LXX = Hebrew *hinnēh* = Aramaic *we-hā*. There is no reason to question the Greek text; *εὐθὺς* in the *koinē* has lost some of its original force and come to mean

⁶ Cf. the preface to vol. 5 of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Josephus.

"thereupon," cf. Josephus *Ant.* xv. 23, 39, 198, 215. It has this same force in the Markan parallel i. 10 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶδεν σχιζομένους κτλ. In Matthew εὐθὺς anticipates or prepares for καὶ ἰδοὺ, and the Greek may be translated without difficulty as "and Jesus was baptised and then went up from the water and behold! etc."; εὐθὺς seems to be a favorite particle with Mark in narrative, and Matthew is here based on Mark.

4. Mt. iv. 1. Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος κτλ.

Torrey translation: "Thereupon Jesus was led away by the spirit into the wilderness."

Torrey note: "Was led up" is too literal. The verb was *ist'leg*, "was taken away" (though literally, "was taken up"); cf. note on John 12: 32-34.

It is quite true that *'istaleg* means both "went up" and "went away," but its normal use is intransitive, not passive. On the other hand the Greek writer could not have used a better word than ἀνήχθη if he meant "was taken away" since this is its idiomatic usage when a trial or an ordeal is indicated; observe the context, ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι κτλ.

5. Mt. viii. 9 (cf. Lk. vii. 8). καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος εἰμί ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας.

Torrey translation: "For I also am one exercising authority, having under me soldiers."

Torrey note: Lk. 7:8 [ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος] certainly has the original reading; but the sense, both there and here, is wrong. Aram. *sym* was naturally supposed to be *sim*, the very common form of the passive participle, "placed, appointed"; instead of the less common (but well attested) active form *sāyēm*, "placing, appointing," which alone does justice to the context. The fact that the direct object of the participle is unexpressed made the mistake all the easier.

In the first place it is very unlikely that the active participle would have been written *sym*, as Torrey supposes; the normal orthography (distinguishing it from the passive) is *s'm* or *syym*. Second, the active participle without a direct object would be

peculiar in Aramaic. Finally, the *passive* and *not the active* participle "alone does justice to the context." The centurion says that he is only a subordinate, a man under orders, and yet he can give orders to the soldiers under him; it follows that Jesus, who has far greater authority, can with a word (ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγῳ) cure the centurion's son, if he pleases.

6. Mt. x. 2. Τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστιν ταῦτα· πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας κτλ.

Torrey translation: "Now these are the names of the first twelve apostles: Simon, called Cephas, and Andrew etc."

Torrey note: The order of the words in the Aramaic was precisely as in the Old Syriac version, the adjective "first" standing between "twelve apostles" and "Simon." Certainly it belonged to the preceding noun (as usual), and was intended as *qadmāiyā* (plural) not *qadmāyā*. In point of time Simon did not precede Andrew; and as for relative rank, any evangelist (but not every translator) would be likely to bear in mind the words of Mt: 20, 27, Mk. 10: 44, Lk. 22: 26! Mt. names the "primitive" apostles.

Here again there is an objection to Torrey's assumption of a graphic error, since the determinative singular and plural forms of the numeral "first" in Aramaic are more clearly distinguished than he indicates, the former being written (in consonantal texts) *qdm'h* or *qdm'yy'*, and the latter *qdm'y* or *qdm'yy*. (The two forms, singular and plural, happen to be identical in Syriac orthography, but not in Jewish Aramaic.) Moreover *trê'sar šəlīḥaiyā qadmā'ēy* (to supply the Aramaic text which Torrey's translation presupposes) would mean "the former twelve apostles," not "the first twelve apostles." And why should the evangelist speak of the "first twelve" apostles? Was there another set of twelve apostles? Simon is certainly singled out in the parallels, Mk. iii. 16 and Lk. vi. 14, by having the name Peter given him by Jesus. So here, Simon is the first and most important of the disciples.

7. Mt. xiv. 2. αὐτὸς ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἱ δυνάμεις ἐνεργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῷ.

Torrey translation: ". . . he [John the Baptist] has risen from the dead, and therefore these marvels are performed by him."

Torrey note: "The powers work in him" cannot be what was intended. The noun must have the same meaning as in the immediately preceding verses, 13: 54 and 58 (Mk. 6: 2, 5); and miracles do not work, they are wrought. This is one of the occurrences of the passive *pe'il*; still in regular use, as we know from the *Megillath Ta'nith*. Cf. note on Lk. 8: 29. The consonant text would be the same in the passive voice as in the active. The translator of Mt. follows the Greek of Mk. as usual.

Here again Torrey ignores the usual distinction in writing between the active and passive participle of the *pa'al* conjugation. Moreover, if the conjectured Aramaic had used the passive, the personal agent ("by him") would have been expressed by *lēh* or *minnēh*. Where does the Greek get *ἐν αὐτῷ*, which presupposes Aramaic *bēh*? Nor is it certain that *δυνάμεις* here means "miracles" as it does in xiii. 58; it seems to mean "the power (to perform miracles)" as in xiii. 54 and elsewhere. For *ἐνεργεῖν* with impersonal abstract subject cf. Eph. ii. 2, *τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας*; cf. also the middle used with *δύναμις* in Eph. iii. 20, *κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἡμῖν*. The Gospel verse means "therefore these miraculous powers work in him" or "through him."

8. Mt. xiv. 12 f. (On alleged omission between *ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ* and vs. 13, *Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν κτλ.*)

Torrey note: The accidental omission of the passage in Mt.'s Aramaic may be explained as due to an oversight of very ordinary character, the eye of the copyist straying from one group of letters to another similar group further on. "And they (i.e. the twelve) came and told Jesus all (*kol*) . . . and they had no opportunity even to eat (*I'mekal*).'" This covers exactly the passage which is rendered in Mk. and which must originally have been in Mt. Footnote: Mt. certainly had here the account of the return of the twelve, as in the close parallels in Mk. and Lk. It seems altogether probable that Mk.'s original text at the beginning of the account was precisely as in Mt., and that the words "the apostles" in Mk. 6: 30 were inserted later in the Greek (perhaps from Lk.?), to show plainly the change of subject.

This seems very improbable on paleographic and other grounds. It takes more than the repetition of a group of *two* consonants in *scriptio continua* to explain the omission. Also the synoptic text problem is rather more complex than Torrey indicates. Apparently he constructs the original text of Mt.

and Mk. as follows: "and they (John's disciples) buried him and came and informed Jesus. And they (the twelve) gathered to Jesus and informed him of all that (*kol dī*) they had done and taught. And he said to them, Come away by yourselves to a desert place and rest a little. For there were many coming and going and they had no opportunity to eat (*lāmēkal*).” The ambiguity here, caused by the repetition of the verb “informed” and the uncertainty as to whether John’s disciples gathered to Jesus and informed him of all that they had done or whether it was the twelve, would surely have made the translator pause and examine the passage carefully. (Torrey’s suggestion about the copyist’s eye straying from *kol* indicates that he believes the copyist had left for the translator of Mt. the phrase translated in Mk. vi. 30 as *καὶ συνάγονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν*.) It appears, then, that the difference between Mt. and the parallels is not accidental but the result of differences in the tradition, or deliberate omission by Matthew, the evangelist (not the translator), of the brief section introducing the apostles rather unexpectedly.

9. Mt. xiv. 34 (cf. Mk. vi. 53). *καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς Γεννησαρέτ* (v. l. *εἰς τὴν γῆν Γενν.*).

Torrey translation: “Passing over, they came to the other side of Gennesaret.”

Torrey note: See note on Mk. 6: 53. I have adopted here, as an alternative, the reading suggested there as possible.

Mk. vi. 53. *Καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρέτ* (v. l. *ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Γενν.*) *καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν*.

Torrey translation: “When they came to land on the other side, at Gennesaret, they moored to the shore.”

Torrey note: In view of the uncertainty attaching to the geographical statements in this chapter, it may not be superfluous to point out (adding another uncertainty?) an ambiguous Aramaic idiom. The text may have been *ū-k’dī ‘abarū āthō ‘al ar’ā mē’ibrā l’ginnēsar*, rendered literally, “and when they had crossed over, they came to the land on the other side, to Gennesaret.” The translator might omit “on the other side,” as mere tautology. But there is here an idiom which has

many examples. *Mē'ibrā l'* may mean "on the other side of." Thus in the Targums. . . . This may have been the idiom overlooked by the translator of Mk.; and his rendering is then followed in Mt. 14: 34.

If there had been such an Aramaic text as Torrey reconstructs, there would have been no ambiguity to mislead the translator; *mē'ibrā laginnēsar* could only have meant "on the other side of Gennesaret." Torrey's suggestion does not help solve the geographical problem.

This concludes the review of the supposed instances of graphic error in translation in the first half of Matthew. In the judgment of the reviewer not one of these instances is convincing proof of the correctness of Torrey's theory that the (synoptic, at least) Gospels are translations from Aramaic.

Let us now turn to other supposed instances of mistranslation or unidiomatic Greek in this same portion of Matthew's Gospel, which might be explained by the supposition that the Greek writer has misunderstood an Aramaic idiom or word in his (oral) source. Perhaps in these cases Torrey's retroversion may help us better to understand the Greek text, without obliging us to accept his theory that the misunderstanding of a *written* Aramaic (or Hebrew) source underlies the faulty Greek.

3. SUPPOSED LINGUISTIC ERRORS IN TRANSLATION (CHIEFLY IN SAYINGS OF JESUS)

1. Mt. iii. 11. οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι.

Torrey translation: ". . . whose sandals I am not worthy to take off."

Torrey note: *Šāqal* commonly means "carry, take up" etc.; but it also means "take off" (a garment), and so it should have been rendered here. It is the same menial act described in other words in Mk. 1: 7, Lk. 3: 16.

But *šāqal* does *not* mean "take off (a garment)," so far as the reviewer knows (*šāqal* could, of course, mean "take away" a garment, as well as anything else, but that is not the point here). The usual Aramaic verbs for "take off (a garment)" are *šalah* and *'a'dē*. Besides, one would expect here the special verbs "loosen" or "take off (a shoe)", which are *'ašrē* and

šəlap̄h respectively. Apparently, then, Mt. is not describing the same menial act as that described in Mk. and Lk., but a similar one, namely the carrying of another's sandals.

2. Mt. v. 19. *ὅς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων κτλ.*

Torrey translation: "Whoever then shall break one of the least of the commandments."

Torrey note: "One of the least," not "one of these least"; cf. 10: 42 and see Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch* (1905), p. 113 f., on this peculiar use of the demonstrative pronoun.

The reference is to the so-called superfluous demonstrative pronoun where one would expect merely the (suffixed) article in Aramaic. Incidentally Dalman's explanation of this usage is incomplete; the superfluous demonstrative is not used arbitrarily but only before a noun denoting a class, an object already mentioned, a noun qualified by a genitive of material or before a relative clause. One would have to decide, therefore, whether in the original statement attributed to Jesus, the "light commandments" or "small commandments" (*ḥiqqūdaḥyā zə'eraḥyā*) were considered to be in one of these classes. Perhaps Torrey's reconstruction is right here. On the other hand, the Greek may very well represent the rhetorical emphasis of the original — "one of these commandments, even the least." Note the repetition of the superlative in the Greek. Cf. also Acts xxiv. 21, *περὶ μᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς*.

3. Mt. v. 37. *ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ.*

Torrey translation: "But let your word 'yea' be yea and your 'nay' be nay."

Torrey note: The Greek follows the Aram. exactly, word by word, but the result is mistranslation; the second occurrence of the "yea" or "nay" is in each case the predicate. James 5: 12 has it right.

There seems to be no mistranslation in the Greek, but only the same ambiguity that is found in the supposed Aramaic original. Both Aramaic and Greek might mean either "let your word 'yea' be yea etc." or "let your word be 'yea, yea' etc." No doubt Torrey's rendering is the correct one, but his verdict of "mistranslation" is unjustified.

4. Mt. v. 39. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ.

Torrey translation: "But I say to you, Resist not injury."

Torrey note: "Evil" is a misleading (too general) rendering of *bishā*.

This seems doubtful. From the context it appears that τῷ πονηρῷ is masculine; note that it is followed by ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει κτλ. The Aramaic, which probably had *bīšā*, as Torrey suggests, would have meant "resist not a wicked man." For πονηρός (sing. and pl.) without ἄνθρωπος cf. Mt. v. 45, 1 Cor. v. 13.

5. Mt. v. 40. καὶ τῷ θελοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἅψες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.

Torrey translation: "And if one would go to law with you and take away your cloak, let him take your tunic also."

Torrey note: The terms denoting the two garments are ambiguous; Lk. 6: 29 has the correct rendering [ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης]. The former term, certainly *kittûn*, denoted originally an undergarment; but in the later time was much used for the elaborate, often ornamented, outer garment, robe of office, and the like; and that was its meaning here. The second term (rendered in any case *ad sensum*) may well have been *pildēs*, which means either "linen shirt" (Targ. Judg. 14: 12 f.) or "mantle" (2 Chron. 9: 24, rendering *s'lāmōth*).

On this explanation of χιτῶν (*kittûn*) one can only comment in bewilderment, "interesting if true." It would be even more interesting if Torrey had only cited one example of *kittûn* meaning "outer garment." In the Old Testament *kuttōneth* (LXX χιτῶν) regularly means either a garment worn next the skin or under the outer garments; so also χιτῶν in the Apocrypha. Josephus uses χιτῶν of the priests' tunic. Once (*Ant.* iii. 162) he equates it with the high priest's *mā'îl*, but says that it is worn under the ephod, which resembles the Greek ἐπωμίς. *Kittûn* and *kuttōneth* are largely replaced in rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic by *ḥālûq*, the regular word for "shirt" or "undergarment," though there are other words for undergarments, and often more than one undergarment is mentioned.

Nor does *pildēs* mean "linen shirt" in the Targum; in Judg. xiv. 13 it renders Heb. *sādîn*, which does not mean "linen shirt,"

but a (large) "linen sheet," in which one wrapped oneself, and which was worn over the undergarments; it might also be used for a curtain, shroud etc.; it might, of course, also be used on occasion as a night-shirt, as might the usual upper-garment, the *ῥαλλῖθ*.

The difference in order between Mt. and Lk. has plausibly been explained by the commentators as due to two slightly different choices of illustration. In Lk. an act of violence is indicated, in which the outer garment is first seized; in Mt. a legal dispute is referred to, in which one litigant demands the other's shirt or tunic.

6. Mt. v. 46. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;

Torrey translation: "For if you love those who love you, what kindness do you show?"

Torrey note: In this passage ἔχετε is not the right rendering of *ἵθαι l'kōn* (lit., "is to you"). In 6: 1, which may have influenced the translation here, the case is different. The ambiguous noun was doubtless *ῥέβῡ*, the same which is otherwise rendered in Lk. 6: 32 f.

It is difficult to see why, if *ῥέβῡ* had stood in the original, the Greek writer should have used *μισθόν*. The context seems to call for "reward." For the phrase *μισθόν ἔχειν* cf. 1 Cor. ix. 17. The phrase *śakar miṣwāh* "reward for fulfilling a commandment (i.e. good deed)" is a common one in rabbinic literature.

7. Mt. v. 48. ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.

Torrey translation: "Be therefore all-including (in your good will), even as your heavenly Father includes all."

Torrey note: "Be therefore *perfect*" etc., would be mere nonsense, even if it were not wholly unprepared for in this context. Nothing here leads up to the idea of perfection — to say nothing of equalling the perfection of God himself! In this paragraph vss. 43-47, the disciples are taught that they must show kindness to *all men*; just as their heavenly Father makes no exception. The explanation of the false rendering lies, very obviously, in the fact that the form of *g'mar* (certainly used here) was active, not passive, in signification. *H'wō gām'rīn* (or, *g'mīrīn*) meant "be all-including," making no exception in your kindness. (On *g'mir* in the active sense, see e.g. *Shabb.* 63a: "When I was

eighteen years of age, I had completed (*g'mîr'na*) the whole Talmud"; *Chag. 3a: h'wô g'mîrê hilkâthâ*, "They learned all the halachoth.").

There seems nothing like "mere nonsense" in the idea that Jesus is here exhorting his listeners to be "perfect" in love, just as God is perfect in love when he causes the sun and rain to act for the benefit of the wicked as well as the good. Nor does Torrey himself find it "mere nonsense" to take τέλειος as "perfect" in Mt. xix. 21, εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὑπάγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχαντα κτλ. In the Pentateuch men are commanded to be holy because God is holy; moreover it is natural to connect this Gospel verse with Deut. xviii. 13, which the LXX renders τέλειος ἔση ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου. It is most unlikely that the original had *gâmarîn* or *gamîrîn*; the active would normally have meant "be completing," the passive, "be completed" or "accomplished" (*in study*). Torrey has been misled, no doubt, by the Old Syriac which has *gamîrê* for τέλειοι. τέλειος presupposes Aramaic *šalîm* "whole" or "perfect." Properly understood *šalîm* and τέλειος are not far from what Torrey means by "all-including"; they mean the opposite of "incomplete" or "limited" in love, as are they who love only their friends.

8. Mt. vi. 6 (cf. 18). σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλήσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ κτλ. vs. 18 ὅπως μὴ φανῇς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ κτλ.

Torrey translation: "... pray to your Father in private . . ." (18) "so that you may not be seen by men to fast but by your Father in private etc."

Torrey note: In each of these verses, the *first* τῷ is a mistranslation; it represents *dî*, lit., "that which is in private."

But the Aramaic *dî* after "father" would have been the relative pronoun relating to "father," in which case the Greek is a correct translation. Torrey's rendering "pray to your Father in private" presupposes an Aramaic original without any *dî*, namely *šallê l'âbûk bāsithrâ* (or *bakasyā*). The Greek makes good sense, "pray to your father, who is in the secret place (i.e. is alone with you)."

9. Mt. vi. 12. ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν.

Torrey translation: "Forgive us our sins."

Torrey note: "Debt" is the original meaning of the Aram. word; but "sin" is at least equally common, and the only correct rendering here. Luke (11:4) cautiously divides the translation with Mt."

With this rendering and explanation the reviewer fully agrees. (The reader, wearied by the reviewer's skepticism, may exclaim, "about time!")

10. Mt. vi. 13. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

Torrey translation: "And let us not yield to temptation."

Torrey note: The six passages, Mt. 6: 13, Lk. 11: 4; Mt. 26: 41, Mk. 14: 38, Lk. 22: 40, 46, illustrate a popular idiom of Palestinian Aramaic which, as far as I am aware, has not been found elsewhere. The verb is 'al, "go in"; in the account of Gethsemane the simple (*pe'al*) stem is used; in the Lord's Prayer it is the causative stem, the *af'el*; and in neither case does the Greek yield a plausible sense. The root-meaning required in these passages is "*fail, succumb, yield*"; thus interpreted, they come to their rights. It may be fruitless to conjecture from which of the ordinary uses of the verb this meaning was derived (from the "going under" of the setting sun; from "entering" a trap or snare; or from some other idiom?); but the fact seems clear. The corresponding Heb. verb, *bō*, appears in an idiom somewhat like this in 1 Sam. 25: 26 where David has been kept from *incurring the guilt* of innocent blood, and the Greek has: τοῦ μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς αἵμα ἀθῶν.

There seems to be no doubt of a Semitism here, but it appears to be Hebrew rather than Aramaic, cf. the very common rabbinic expression *bō' lîdê hēt* ('*abêrâh, nissâyôn* etc.) "fall into" or "incur sin (transgression, temptation etc.)," and the causative *hâbî' lîdê hēt* ('*abêrâh, nissâyôn* etc.) "lead into sin (transgression, temptation etc.)." Like Torrey, the reviewer is unable, at the moment, to locate the Aram. idiom with 'al. But the reviewer is unable to see that the Greek fails to "yield a plausible sense"; μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν seems an adequate rendering of 'al *tabî'ênâ lîdê nissâyôn*, that is, "do not let us fall into (the power of) temptation," or "do not cause us to fall etc."

11. Mt. vi. 22 f. ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς . . . ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρός ᾗ κτλ.

Torrey translation: "If then your eye is sound . . . but if your eye is diseased etc."

Torrey note: "Single" is *p'shūt* (lit. "simple"), "clear, sound"; "evil" is (as usual) *bīsh* "diseased."

The assumption that *πονηρός* = *bīš* with the meaning "diseased" seems quite all right. The case is more doubtful with *pəšūṭ* (which Torrey apparently has adopted from the Old Syriac). The Aramaic is much more likely to have been *šalīm* "whole, unimpaired." Observe that Aquila regularly renders Heb. *tāmīm* and *tam* by *ἀπλοῦς*, as the Targum does by *šalīm*.

12. Mt. ix. 30. *καὶ ἐνεβριμήθη* (v. l. *ἐνεβριμήσατο*) αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγων.

Torrey translation: "Jesus charged them sternly, saying etc."

Torrey note: Mistranslation; see notes on Mk. 1: 43 and Jn. 11: 33- (Note on Mk. 1: 43): The participle here is one of several very disturbing mistranslations of the verb *r'gaz*; see note on Jn. 11: 33. In its later use, the root regularly carried the meaning "anger, wrath"; but in the earlier use the true meaning, "agitation," is variously illustrated. . . . Cf. the use of the Heb. verb in Is. 14: 9.

One wonders why, if *rəgaz* was the verb in the Aramaic original, it should have had the meaning "was agitated" rather than "was angry" or "severe" (Torrey's translation, "charged them sternly," is about right). Jesus was warning the persons healed to keep silent about the miraculous cures he had effected; the warning would naturally have been given in strong language. If, moreover, *rəgaz* had been used in the sense of "was agitated," how can we explain the presence of αὐτοῖς after ἐνεβριμήθη? It is doubtful whether the Greek mistranslates, but Torrey's suggestion is interesting and just possibly correct.

13. Mt. ix. 33. οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.

Torrey translation: "Never in Israel has aught like this been seen."

Torrey note: οὕτως renders *kid'nā* ("the like of this"), which here is a substantive and the subject of the verb. Cf. Heb., Judg. 19: 30, Is. 66: 8, etc. The same rendering (literal, but wrong) in Mk. 2: 12.

This translation and explanation seem correct. But the possibility remains that the substantive use of οὕτως with φαίνεσθαι as with εἶναι etc. is an idiom of the *koïnḗ*, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13.

14. Mt. x. 4. Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης.

Torrey translation: "Judas the Traitor."

Torrey note: "Iscariot," as I hope to show elsewhere, is a mongrel word, formed with the Greek suffix from the standing Aramaic epithet of Judas based on the root *sh'qar*, "false, traitorous."

The Aramaic form which Torrey reconstructs (according to his paper, read before the Society of Biblical Literature in December, 1926) is 'ašqārā. That ωτ is part of the Greek suffix is doubtful in view of the spelling Ἰσκαριώθ in Mk. iii. 19, xiv. 10, Lk. vi. 16. The Aramaic noun "false (person), traitor" is either šaqqārā or šaqarai; these would be transliterated into Greek as Σακκαραῖος or something very like. Moreover it is doubtful whether the Greek translators would have misunderstood the meaning of so common a word as "traitor" and have failed to render it directly by προδότης; cf. Lk. vi. 16, Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. The widely accepted etymology 'iš qarīyōth "man of Kerioth" may be kept until a more certain one is offered.

15. Mt. x. 38. ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου κτλ.

Torrey translation: "... whoever will not take up his yoke and follow me etc."

Torrey note: The phrase, "take up his cross and follow me," occurs five times in the Synoptic Gospels: Mk. 8, 34, Mt. 10: 38; 16: 24, Lk. 9: 23, and 14: 27. It is usually preceded by the words, "let him deny himself." In its first occurrence, in Mk., the exhortation is addressed not merely to the disciples, but to the populace; so also in the parallel passage in Lk., where the adverb "daily" is added. As many have remarked, what would be expected here is not *cross* but *yoke*; making the exhortation comprehensible to those who heard it. The word translated is certainly z'qāf, known to us only with the meaning "cross." When, however, it is observed that the yoke of ploughing animals had precisely this form, a wooden beam with a cross-bar, it seems almost certain, in view of the above passages, that in the popular speech of Galilee the word was used also to mean "yoke." This then would certainly be a genuine utterance of Jesus. I have ventured to render thus in all the passages.

The word translated was certainly *not* zaqīph, and zaqīph does *not* primarily mean "cross"; it means "upright pole, stake,"

such as criminals might be hanged or impaled on; it might or might not have a cross-bar. Nor is there any reason why a horizontal yoke should be called *zəqîph*; no such usage is known in the abundant rabbinic literature dealing with agriculture. Moreover, if Jesus, speaking to the populace, or any group of listeners, wanted to use the word "yoke," he certainly used the common Aramaic word *nîr* or the familiar Hebrew word *ôl*. It is entirely possible, of course, that Jesus on this occasion spoke of a "yoke" and not of a "cross," and that the evangelists, having the crucifixion in mind, deliberately changed the sense; but that has nothing to do with a misunderstanding of the Semitic original. On the other hand, the reference to a cross (Aram. *şalîb*) may well be genuine. For the Greek custom of condemned persons carrying the cross cf. commentaries; for a Jewish parallel cf. Strack-Billerbeck ad loc.

16. Mt. xiii. 4 (cf. 19). καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κτλ.

Torrey translation: "And as he sowed, some seed fell on the road etc."

Torrey note: See note on Mk. 4: 4. (*Note on Mk.*): The preposition 'al, "upon," when used in speaking of a road, a river, and the like, ordinarily means "beside, alongside." In this case, however, it necessarily means "on," and the Greek παρὰ is flat mistranslation. Mk.'s rendering is adopted, as usual, by Mt. and Lk.

Here Torrey appears to know less both about Aramaic and Greek idiom than the translator. If the Aramaic was 'al 'orhā its natural meaning was "on the road," not "beside the road"; the Greek translator could hardly have mistaken it. It was probably, however, not 'al 'orhā but 'al gab 'orhā "along the road" — still more unmistakable. That the translator knew what he was doing is shown by his use of ἐπὶ in the following verses, where the Aramaic must have had the same preposition, 'al, as before "road." As a matter of fact the Greek παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν means "along the road"; cf. e.g. Josephus *B. J.* ii. 544 (cf. also Isoc. 4. 148 and Eurip. Alc. 834, cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones).

17. Mt. xiii. 8 (cf. 23). ἄλλα δὲ . . . ἐδίδον καρπὸν, ὃ μὲν ἑκατὸν κτλ.

Torrey translation: "... other seed . . . yielded fruit, some a hundredfold etc."

Torrey note: Mt. mistranslates the *chad* ("one"), here = "fold"; see note on Mk. 4: 8 [καὶ ἔφερεν εἰς (v.l. ἐν, ἐν) τριάκοντα κτλ.]

(*Note on Mk.*): The correct reading is *ἐν* in all three cases. This is the very common Aramaic idiom, illustrated in Dan. 3: 19. So also in vs. 20 as well as the parallels in Mt. 13: 8 and 23 (so Wellhausen). A striking instance of literal translation.

Torrey and Wellhausen are probably correct here.

18. Mt. xiv. 26. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν, λέγοντες ὅτι φάντασμά ἐστιν.

Torrey translation: "... and said, it is a demon."

Torrey note: Both here and in Mk. 6: 49, "apparition" has been substituted in the Greek for "demon" as the Old Syriac (Sinaitic) shows.

It is possible, perhaps probable, that the Aramaic had *šēdā* "demon," but not altogether necessary to suppose that the Greek has substituted *φάντασμα* for *δαιμόνιον*, since the former might render *šēdā* as well as *hēzū* "apparition"; cf. papyrus Lond. 121, 589 (cited by Preuschen-Bauer sub v.), φυλακτήριον πρὸς δαίμονας πρὸς φαντάσματα πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος

CONCLUSION

The reviewer ventures to believe that the general arguments advanced by Torrey in favor of his theory of the use of written Aramaic and Hebrew *throughout* the Gospels have been shown to be inconclusive; that the supposed instances of graphic error taken from the illustrations in Torrey's essay and from the first half of Matthew as test-material have been proved erroneous or doubtful; and finally, that of the supposed instances of Semitisms, not necessarily involving the use of written Aramaic sources, but most probably based on oral traditions, only a small number, four out of eighteen, are convincing.

It seems, therefore, not only justifiable but commendable to maintain a skeptical attitude toward the translation-theory. At the same time, all scholars should be grateful for works of this kind, which, when written with the same skill and conscientiousness as are shown by Professor Torrey, undoubtedly

advance the study of the New Testament and Christian origins in marked degree.

Professor Torrey has taught the younger generation of Semitists and biblical scholars much that is lastingly valuable. The writer trusts that Torrey's fine example of objectivity and scholarly independence has in some measure been followed in this critical review.

POSTSCRIPT: The writer begs to be allowed to note that the extended review of Torrey's book by Professor J. A. Montgomery, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 53 (1934): 79-99, was not available until several weeks after this article was in type.

THE HISTORY, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE OF ISRAEL

RESEARCH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, 1914-1925

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen herausgegeben von J. Nikel. Münster i/W.
AHR	American Historical Review.
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AJT	American Journal of Theology.
Annual ASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AO	Der alte Orient.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
ATR	Anglican Theological Review.
Baudissin Festschr.	Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin . . . überreicht . . . BZAW 33. Giessen, 1918.
BF	Bibelforskaren.
BFCT	Beiträge zur Forderung christlicher Theologie.
Bibl	Biblica.
BLE	Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BS	Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt	Biblische Studien.
Budde Festschr.	Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Karl Budde . . . überreicht. . . . BZAW 34. Giessen, 1920.
BW	Biblical World.
BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, herausgegeben von R. Kittel.
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift.
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
BZF	Biblische Zeitfragen.
BZTS	Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
DR	Deutsche Revue.
Exp	The Expositor.
ET	Expository Times.
FRANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament.
GSAI	Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana.
GTT	Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift.

- Gunkel Festschr. 'Εὐχαριστήριον. Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht. FRLANT 19, 1. Göttingen, 1923.
- Harnack Festschr. Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden Adolf von Harnack . . . dargebracht. Tübingen, 1921.
- HJ Hibbert Journal.
- Hommel Festschr. Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet. . . . I: MVAG 21 (1917); II: MVAG 22 (1918).
- HR Holborn Review.
- HTR Harvard Theological Review.
- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnati.
- HUCJ Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume (1875-1925). Cincinnati, 1925.
- HWJ Festschr. Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Berlin, 1922.
- ITQ Irish Theological Quarterly.
- JA Journal Asiatique.
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JBL Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.
- JEA The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
- Jesch Jeschurun.
- JJGL Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur.
- JMES Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
- JPOS Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society.
- JQR Jewish Quarterly Review.
- JR Journal of Religion.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSOR Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies.
- Kath Katholik.
- LSS Leipziger Semitistische Studien.
- Marti Festschr. Vom Alten Testament, Karl Marti . . . gewidmet. BZAW 41. Giessen, 1915.
- MGWJ Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
- MKRU Monatsblätter für den Katholischen Unterricht.
- MUSJ Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph. Beyrouth.
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
- Nikel Festschr. Biblische Zeitfragen, XI. Folge, . . . Joh. Nikel . . . gewidmet. Münster, 1923-24.
- NKZ Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift.
- NTS Nieuwe Theologische Studiën.
- NTT Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
- OC The Open Court.
- OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
- Peake, People and Book. A. S. Peake (Editor), The People and the Book. Oxford, 1925.
- PEF QS Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement.
- PJ Palästina Jahrbuch.
- PM Protestantische Monatshefte.
- PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

- PTR Princeton Theological Review.
 RB Revue Biblique.
 REJ Revue des Études Juives.
 RGV Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher. Tübingen.
 RHPR Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses.
 RHR Revue d'Histoire des Religions.
 RS Revue Sémitique.
 RSPT Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques.
 RSR Recherches de Science Religieuse.
 RTP Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
 RTQR Revue de Théologie et de Questions Religieuses.
 Sachau Festschr. Festschrift Edw. Sachau . . . gewidmet . . . Herausgegeben von G. Weil. Berlin, 1915.
 Schwarz Festschr. Festschrift Adolf Schwarz . . . gewidmet. Berlin, 1917.
 SGV Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte.
 SO Studia Orientalia, edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica. I. Commentationes in honorem Knut Tallqvist. Helsingforsiae, 1925.
 SS Die Studierstube.
 SSO Studia Semitica et Orientalia. In honor of James Robertson. Glasgow, 1920.
 SST Sunday School Times.
 St. Buhl Studier tilegnede Prof. Frantz Buhl . . . redigeret af J. Jakobsen. Kopenhagen, 1925.
 STZ Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift.
 TB Theologische Blätter.
 TG Theologie und Glaube.
 Th Theology.
 TJB Theologischer Jahresbericht.
 TLB Theologisches Literaturblatt.
 TLZ Theologische Literaturzeitung.
 TPMS Theologisch-praktische Monatsschrift.
 TPQ Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift.
 TQ Theologische Quartalschrift.
 TR Theologische Revue.
 TRs Theologische Rundschau.
 TS Theologische Studien.
 TS Stave Teologiska Studier tillägnade Erik Stave. Upsala, 1922.
 TSK Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
 TT Theologisch Tijdschrift.
 VB Vierteljahrschrift für Bibelkunde.
 VD Verbum Domini.
 Wellhausen Festschr. Studien zur Semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte Julius Wellhausen . . . gewidmet. BZAW 27. Giessen, 1914.
 WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
 ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
 ZAW Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
 ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

ZERU	Zeitschrift für den Evangelischen Religionsunterricht.
ZHB	Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie.
ZKT	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie.
ZMRW	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik.
ZSF	Zeit- und Streitfragen des Glaubens, der Weltanschauung und der Bibelforschung.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZWT	Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.

NOTE. The following topics have not been included in this bibliography: geography, archaeology, and pre-history of Palestine; exegesis of the Old Testament; Hebrew and Semitic philology; transmission and criticism of the text; versions; history of the canon; Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

I. HISTORY

1. THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

(a) *Chronology*

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W. J. Chapman, The Problem of Inconsequent Post-Dating in II Ki. 15, 13, 17 and 23. HUCA II, 57-61.

A. Gampert, Les "480 ans" de 1 Rois VI, 1. RTP 5 (1917) 241-7. [The twelve generations represented by the 480 years are not those of rulers, but of high priests.] *J. Hontheim*, Die Chronologie des 3. und 4. Buches der Könige. ZKT 42 (1918) 463-82; 687-718. *A. Kleber*, The Chronology of 3 and 4 Kings and 2 Paralipomenon. Bibl 2 (1921) 3-29; 170-205. [The sacred year was used in reckoning the reign of the kings of

Judah and the civil year in the case of the kings of Israel.] *R. B. Pattie*, *Synchronisms in Kings* (SSO).

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G. Beer, *Juda und Israel* (Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie, ix, 2399-2460.) *I. Benzinger*, *Geschichte Israels bis auf die Griechische Zeit*. (Sammlung Göschen, 231.) 3. Aufl. Berlin, 1924. [Saul came from Gilead, Solomon and Ahab were vassals of Tyre, the J document was finished under Hezekiah and the E document under Josiah.] *F. Buhl*, *Det Israelitiske Folks Historie*. 5th Edit. Kopenhagen, 1915. *D. Camerini*, *Storia del popolo ebreo*. Vol. I: Dalle origini alla distruzione del secondo tempio. Parma, 1916. 2nd. Edit.: Turin, 1921. *O. Eissfeldt*, *Israels Geschichte*. (RGV vi, 4.) Tübingen, 1914. *H. Guthe*, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. 3. Aufl. Tübingen, 1914. [In spite of a certain lack of organic unity, it is an excellent manual.] *F. X. Kugler*, *Von Moses bis Paulus*. *Forschungen zur Geschichte Israels nach Biblischen und profangeschichtlichen, insbesondere neuen keilinschriftlichen Quellen*. Münster, 1922. [A series of monographs on the calendar, the date of pentateuchal laws, the chronology of the monarchy and the dates of Ezekiel, the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, the credi-

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(c) *The history of the pre-exilic period*

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babylonischen Exil. Leipzig, 1924. [Sellin distinguishes two Israelitic invasions of Canaan: one in connection with the Habiri in the Amarna time, the other after the death of Moses (who died as a martyr at Shittim).]

(d) *The history of the post-exilic period*

L. Gry, Israélites en Assyrie, Juifs en Babylone. Muséon 35 (1922) 153-85; 36 (1923) 1-26. *H. Oort*, De laatste eeuwen van Israëls volksbestaan. 2nd Edit. Leiden, 1915. [From Nehemiah to the last rebellion of the Jews against the Romans.] *I. Zoller*, Tre millenni di storia. I: La storia del popolo ebraico dal 500 prima dell' E. V. al 500 dopo l' E. V. Florence, 1924. [From the Exile to the publication of the Talmud.]

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(f) *Single periods in the history of Israel*

(1) The Patriarchs. *W. F. Albright*, Historical and mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph. JBL 37 (1918) 112-43. [The story of Joseph is the synthesis of two mythic cycles, one concerning Joseph, the god of fertility at Shechem, the other borrowed from the myths of Osiris and Bitis.] *W. F. Albright*, A Colony of Cretan Mercenaries in the Negeb. JPOS 1 (1921) 187-94. [Abimelech of Gerar was at the head of a Cretan colony, forming an Egyptian frontier garrison.] *A. Eberharder*, Die neueren Hypothesen über die hebräischen Patriarchen Abraham, Isaak und Jakob. ZKT 38, 656-704. Betrieben die Patriarchen Abraham, Isaac und Jakob auch Ackerbau? TQ 97, 1-16. [The patriarchs cultivated the soil; their religion was not that of nomads in the wilderness.]

H. Gunkel, Jakob. Preussische Jahrbücher 176 (1919) 339-62. *J. Hirsch*, Die Vorgeschichte Israels und seiner Religion.

MGWJ 60, 19-28. *J. Lippl*, Die biblischen Abrahamserzählungen und die orientalische Geschichts- und Religionsforschung. TPMS 24, 459-67; 541-51; 669-81. *Th. van Tichelen*, In den Patriarchentijd. Leuven, 1923. [An account of the civilization of Canaan in the 20th cent. B.C.] *D. Völter*, Die Patriarchen Israels im Lichte der ägyptischen Mythologie. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, 1921. [Abraham corresponds to Nun, Sarah to Nuneth, Yahweh to Re, Hagar to Isis, Jakob to Keb, Esau to Shu, Joseph to Osiris. The ark is the coffin of Osiris.]

(2) The Israelites in Egypt. *P. Haupt*, Kir-Ur of the Chaldees. JBL 36 (1917) 93-9. [The ancestors of the Israelites were Arameans; the Israelites were never in Egypt, whereas the Edomitic ancestors of the Judeans sojourned there for a time.] *H. J. Heyes*, Joseph in Ägypten. 3. Aufl. (BZF iv, 9) Münster, 1921. *P. Jensen*, Israel in Ägypten? OLZ 28 (1925) 420-4. [Jacob's residence in Egypt and the Exodus under Moses are "Israelitic sagas belonging to the Gilgamesh cycle."] *A. Mallon*, Les Hébreux en Egypte. Rome, 1921. [A study of the Egyptian sources.] *A. Mallon*, Les Hyksos et les Hébreux. JPOS 5 (1925) 85-91. [The Hyksos are not Hebrews, although to a large extent Semitic.] *W. Wreszinski*, Die Kinder Israels in Ägypten: ein Vortrag. DR 50 (1924) 251-68. [The traditions refer to events of the Hyksos period and of the Amarna period.]

(3) The Exodus from Egypt. *H. Brown*, The Exodus recorded on the Stele of Menephtah. JEA 4 (1917) 16-20. [The Israelites entered Egypt with the Hyksos in 1660 and made their escape in 1230, when Menephtah was defeating the Lybians.] *H. Brown*, The Land of Goshen and the Exodus. London, 1920. *A. H. Gardiner*, The Delta Residence of the Ramessides. JEA 5 (1918) 127-38; 179-200; 242-71. [The most thorough investigation on the subject. For the O.T. see especially pp. 261-69. The city Raamses of Ex. 1, 11 was not in the Wâdi Tûmilât, but near Pelusium, possibly identical with Avaris.] *A. H. Gardiner*, The supposed Egyptian Equivalent of the Name of Goshen. JEA 5 (1918) 218. [The word read "QoSeM" or "Gsmt" by Brugsch should be read *šsmt* and has nothing to do with Goshen.] *A. H. Gardiner*, The Geography of the

Exodus: an Answer to Professor Naville and others. *JEA* 10 (1924) 87-96. *J. S. Griffith*, The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology. London, 1923. [The traditional identifications, refuted by Gardiner, are adopted without question.] *H. R. Hall*, Israel and the surrounding Nations. (Peake, People and Book, 1-40). [The Exodus coincides with the driving out of the Hyksos in 1580; the invasion of Canaan occurred in the Amarna period.] *A. Mallon*, La Mer Rouge et l'Exode. *Bibl* 6 (1925) 396-400 [The *jam-sûf* (Sea of Reeds) was the Red Sea, not a lake in the Delta (Gardiner).] *E. Naville*, Did Menephtah invade Syria? *JEA* 2 (1915) 195-201. [The famous Israel-passage does not necessarily imply a campaign in Syria.] *E. Naville*, The Geography of the Exodus. *JEA* 10 (1924) 18-39. [Against Gardiner and Peet, Naville identifies Goshen with Saft el-Hennah, Raamses with Tell Retabah, Pithom with Heroopolis, etc.] *V. L. Trumper*, The Route of the Exodus: from Pithom to Marah. *PEF QS* 47 (1915) 22-29; 152-3. [Criticized by *J. D. Grace*, *ibid.* pp. 64-6]. *M. Vernes*, Sinai contre Kadès: les grands sanctuaires de l'exode israélite et les routes du désert. Étude archéologique et géographique. (Annuaire 1915-1916 de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences religieuses, pp. 1-89.) Paris, 1915. (Cf. *L. Cart*, Au Sinaï et dans l'Arabie Pétrée. *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*, vol. 23. 1915.) [Vernes and Cart reject the theory according to which Moses did not lead the Israelites to Sinai, but only to Kadesh.] *C. M. Watson*, The Desert of the Wanderings. *PEF QS* 46 (1914) 18-23. (Cf. *C. L. Woolley*, *ibid.* pp. 58-66.) [A useful statement of the problems and a bibliography.] *H. M. Wiener*, The Date of the Exodus. *BS* 73 (1916) 454-80. [1233/2 B.C.] The Date of the Exodus and the Chronology of Judges. *BS* 74 (1917) 581-609. The Exodus and the Conquest of the Negeb. *BS* 76 (1919) 468-74. The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology. *BS* 75 (1918) 561-80. Note on the Exodus. *BS* 76 (1919) 474-83. *A. E. Whalthingham*, The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology. *BS* 75 (1918) 543-60.

(4) The Invasion of Canaan. *P. Asmussen*, Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan. *Memnon* 7 (1915) 185-207. [The military attack of Simeon, Levi, Judah, and Dinah from the

South in the Amarna period ended in failure. The pacific migration of Joseph and other tribes two centuries later attained success under Saul and David.] *C. F. Burney*, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan. The Biblical Tradition and its historical Background.* (Schweich Lectures, 1917.) London, 1918. 2nd Edit. 1919. [Before the settlement of the Joseph tribes in Egypt, the six Leah tribes were attempting the conquest of the central hill-country of Canaan.] *P. Dhorme*, *Les Habiru et les Hébreux.* JPOS 4 (1924) 162-68. [The Habiru are not the Hebrews, but a group of "allies" (cf. Ez. 37, 16, 19) opposing the Egyptian domination in Canaan.] *A. H. Edelkoort*, *Uittocht en Intocht, een Geschiedenis van het Volk Israël van den Uittocht uit Egypt tot die Vestiging in Kanaan.* Utrecht, 1924. [The Hyksos are the Amorites, the Habiri are the Aramaic Ahlame, Israel is part of the Aperiw. Thotmes III is the Pharaoh of the oppression, Amenophis II the Pharaoh of the Exodus.] *A. Jirku*, *Die Hauptprobleme der Anfangsgeschichte Israels.* Gütersloh, 1918. [Gen. 14 is historical. Sinai was near Kadesh.] *K. Lincke*, *Mose, Ephraim und der Auszug aus Faran.* PM 23 (1919) 154-8. [Ephraim means the people of Pharan near Sinai.] *D. D. Luckenbill*, *On Israel's Origins.* AJT 22 (1918) 24-53. [Israel entered Canaan in the Amarna period. Only one tribe (Levi?) was in Egypt in the time of Ramses II. Israel and Judah developed independently. Yahweh became known to Israel in Canaan.] *T. J. Meek*, *A proposed reconstruction of early Hebrew History.* AJT 24 (1920) 209-16. [Joshua led a group of Hebrews into Canaan in the Amarna period. Some of these Habiri, repulsed in Canaan, went to Goshen and later were delivered by Moses. Yahweh, the god of Judah, did not become the national god until David.] *M. H. Segal*, *The Settlement of Manasseh East of the Jordan.* PEF QS 50 (1918) 124-31. [The events of Num. 32, 39-42 took place before the crossing of the Jordan.] *R. Weil*, *L'Installation des Israélites en Palestine et la légende des patriarches.* Paris, 1924. [The patriarchs were Canaanitic deities. The Israelites changed the name of their ancestor-god "Isra" to "Yahweh" at Kadesh.] *A. C. Welch*, *The History of Israel.* (Peake, *People and Book*, pp. 121-50.) [The Exodus took place

in 1445, the invasion of Canaan in the Amarna period. There were three invasions: Judah into the Negeb; Joshua at Jericho; and Jakob and Joseph at the Jordan ford opposite Shechem.] *H. M. Wiener*, *Some Factors in early Hebrew History*. BS 78 (1921) 201-31; 376-99.

(5) The period of the Judges. *L. Desnoyers*, *Histoire du peuple hébreu des Juges à la Captivité*. I: *La Période des Juges*. Paris, 1922. [Cf. BLE ser. vi, 9 (1918) 47-72; 87-114; 182-95; 10 (1919) 17-33.] *A. E. Krohn*, *Debora*. Göttingen, 1916. *E. Sellin*, *Gilgal*. Leipzig, 1917. [The Israelites entered Canaan at Adam, vis à vis of Shechem, and their first settlement was at Gilgal near Shechem.] *E. Sellin*, *Wie wurde Sichem eine israelitische Stadt?* Leipzig, 1922. [Shechem was occupied by the Israelites for the first time under Abimelech, ca. 1150.]

(6) The period of the monarchy. *L. Desnoyers*, *Les guerres extérieures de David*. BLE ser. vi, 11 (1920) 340-67. *Le règne de Salomon*. 10 (1919) 62-80; 126-49; 11 (1920) 11-38; 340-67. *La sécession et le schisme des tribus d'Israël*. 12 (1921) 359-80. *Le règne de Josias, roi de Juda, 637-607 avant J.-C.* 6 (1915) 257-80; 7 (1916) 308-25. *A. T. Olmstead*, *The Reform of Josiah in its secular aspects*. AHR 20 (1915) 566-70. *S. Prentice*, *Elijah and the Tyrian Alliance*. JBL 42 (1923) 33-38. [Elijah brought to an end the military alliance between Tyre and Israel, thus leaving Israel exposed to the attacks of the kings of Damascus.] *T. L. W. van Ravensteyn*, *Jeremia iv, 5-vi, 30* (Land en Stat verworpen). TS 32 (1914) 1-29. [The first four poems in Jer. 4 refer to the Scythians; the 5th and following to the Chaldeans. This conclusion was reached independently of *F. Wilke*, *Das Skythenproble im Jeremiabuch*. (Beitr. z. Wiss. d. A. T. 13) Leipzig, 1913.]

(7) The Persian period. *N. H. Baynes*, *Zerubbabel's Rebuilding of the Temple*. JTS 25 (1924) 154-60. [The story of the rebuilding of the temple under Cyrus referred originally to the rebuilding of the temple under Darius.] *J. de Heer*, *Israels Herstel en Terugkeer naar Palestina*. Rotterdam, 1918. [On the return of the Exiles to Palestine.] *A. Fernandez*, *Epoca de la actividad de Esdras*. Bibl 2 (1921) 424-47. [The work of

Ezra preceded that of Nehemiah.] *A. Fernandez*, *El Profeta Ageo* 2, 15-18 y la fundación del Segundo Templo. *Bibl* 2 (1921) 206-15. [Hag. 2, 15-18 does not exclude a beginning of the rebuilding of the Temple in the time of Cyrus.] *W. Rosenau*, *Ezekiel* 37, 15-28. What happened to the ten Tribes. *HUCJ* 79-88. [Ez. 37 and Zech. assume that the exiles from North Israel still have a separate ethnic existence.] *A. van Hoonacker*, *La succession chronologique Néhémie-Esdras*. *RB* 32 (1923) 481-94; 33 (1924) 33-64. [A defense of his view, presented in 1890, according to which Ezra came to Jerusalem in 398 (after Nehemiah, who came in 445), against *F. X. Kugler*, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, pp. 215-33, who based his conclusion on the date of the sabbaths in the year in question.]

2. THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

(a) *The ancient history of the Near East*

The Cambridge Ancient History, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Vols. I-III. Cambridge, 1923-25. *E. Grant*, *The Orient in Bible Times*. Philadelphia, 1920. *C. F. Jean*, *Le Milieu Biblique avant Jésus Christ*. I. *Histoire et Civilization*. Paris, 1922. II. *La Littérature*. Paris, 1923. *R. Kittel*, *Kriege in biblischen Landen*. Gotha, 1918. [A lecture on the wars fought by Egyptians and Assyrians on Palestinian soil, with a discussion of strategy, equipment, fortresses, international law, etc.] *J. Vandervorst*, *Israel et l'ancien orient*. Bruxelles, 1916. [From Abraham to 135 A.D.] *Weltgeschichte in Gemeinverständlicher Darstellung*, edited by E. Hanslik, E. Kohn, E. G. Klauber. Vol. I: *E. G. Klauber and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt*, *Geschichte des alten Orients*. 3. Aufl. Gotha, 1925. [History of the Orient to Alexander.]

(b) *Israel and the surrounding nations*

(1) The Phenicians. *C. Autran*, "Phéniciens." *Essai de contribution à l'histoire antique de la Méditerranée*. Paris, 1920. [Chiefly philological speculations.] *G. Dahl*, *The Materials for the History of Dor*. (Transact. of the Connecticut

Acad. of Arts and Sciences, vol. 20, pp. 1-131.) New Haven, Conn., 1915. *W. B. Fleming*, *The History of Tyre*. New York, 1915.

(2) The Philistines. *L. Desnoyers*, *L'invasion des Philistins en Canaan*. BLE ser. 6, 12 (1921) 241-64. *H. Guthe*, *Die Kultur der alten Philister*. DR 39, 4 (1914) 86-100. *R. A. S. Macalister*, *The Philistines: their History and Civilization*. London, 1914. *F. Stähelin*, *Die Philister*. Basel, 1918. [A lecture.]

(3) The Arameans. *L. Desnoyers*, *La Syrie au temps de l'institution de la royauté en Israël*. BLE ser. vi, 13 (1922) 99-115. *E. G. H. Kraeling*, *Aram and Israel, or the Arameans in Syria and Mesopotamia*. New York, 1918. [The Israelites belong to the Aramean group. Abraham personifies an invasion into Canaan in the Amarna period.] *H. Lammens*, *La Syrie: précis historique*. 2 Vols. Beyrouth, 1921.

(4) The Arabs. *S. Landersdorfer*, *Die Bibel und die süd-arabische Altertumsforschung*. (BZF iii, 5-6.) 2. Aufl. Münster, 1920. *D. S. Margoliouth*, *The Relations between the Arabs and the Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*. (The Schweich Lectures, 1921.) Oxford, 1924.

(c) *The Hittites*

A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites*. London, 1920. *A. Jirku*, *Eine hetitische Ansiedelung in Jerusalem zur Zeit von El-Amarna*. ZDPV 43 (1920) 58-61. [Abdi-hiba of Jerusalem was a Hittite.] *S. Landersdorfer*, *Das Hetitische Problem und die Bibel*. TG 11 (1919) 22-33. *D. D. Luckenbill*, *The Hittites*. AJT 18 (1914) 24-58. *B. Meissner*, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zum Hattireiche nach hattischen Quellen*. ZDMG 72 (1918) 32-64. *B. Meissner*, *Zur Geschichte des Chattireiches nach neuerschlossenen Urkunden des Chattischen Staatsarchivs*. Breslau, 1917. *S. A. B. Mercer*, *The Hittites, Mitanni, and Babylonians in the Tell el-Amarna Letters*. JSOR 8 (1924) 13-50. *E. Meyer*, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*. Berlin, 1914. *W. Otto*, *Die Hethiter*. *Histor. Zeitschr.* 117 (1917) 189-228. *G. Roeder*, *Ägypter und Hethiter*. Leipzig, 1919.

(d) *Babylonians and Assyrians*

(1) Cuneiform sources for events in the history of Israel.

a. *E. Ebeling*, *Aus dem Leben der jüdischen Exulanten in Babylonien*. Berlin, 1914. [Translation of Babylonian contracts illustrating the life of the Judean exiles in Babylonia.] *A. Hjelt*, *Die Chronik Nabopolassars und der syrische Feldzug Nechos*. (Marti Festschr.) *D. D. Luckenbill*, *Azariah of Judah*. *AJSL* 41 (1925) 217-32. [The "Azariah of Judah" mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III is the biblical Uziah.] *B. Meissner*, *Palästinische Städtebilder aus der Zeit Tiglathpilesers IV*. *ZDPV* 39 (1916) 261-3. [Astharoth-Karnajim, Gezer, and possibly a third city are represented on bas-reliefs of Tiglath-pileser].

b. The campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem and his death. *D. D. Luckenbill*, *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Chicago, 1924. [Although there may have been two campaigns of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, the sources seem to indicate that there was a single one in 701 B.C.] *R. W. Rogers*, *Sennacherib and Judah*. (Wellhausen Festschr.) *H. M. Wiener*, *The Tartan's Expedition in Chronology and Prophecy*. *NTS* 48 (1923) 173-4. *F. Schmidke*, *Asarhaddons Stadthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien 681 v. Chr.* Leiden, 1916. [The Adrammelech of 2 Ki. 19, 37; Is. 37, 38 is the Ardi-Ninlil of Assyrian inscriptions.] *F. Schmidke*, *Der Ort der Ermordung Sanheribs*. *OLZ* 21 (1918) 169-71. [Sennacherib was assassinated in Babylon.] *A. Ungnad*, *Die Ermordung Sanheribs*. *OLZ* 20 (1917) 358-9; *Der Ort der Ermordung Sanheribs*. *ZA* 35 (1924) 50-1. [Sennacherib was assassinated at the entrance of the temple of Ninurta in Nineveh.]

(2) Babylonian and Assyrian historical events referred to in the Old Testament. *A. T. Olmstead*, *History of Assyria*. New York, 1923. *C. J. Gadd*, *The Fall of Nineveh*. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle No. 21,901 in the British Museum. London, 1923. [Nineveh fell in 612, not in 606, B.C.] [Cf. *A. Jirku*, *TLB* 45 (1924) 154-7. *P. Dhorme*, *La fin de l'empire assyrien d'après un nouveau document*. *RB* 33 (1924)

218-34.] *S. Smith*, Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon. London, 1924.

(3) Chronology. *E. Forrer*, Zur Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit. MVAG 20 (1915) No. 3. Leipzig, 1916. *E. F. Weidner*, Studien zur assyrisch-babylonische Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund neuer Funde. MVAG 20 (1915) No. 4. Leipzig, 1917.

(e) *Egypt and Israel*

W. F. Albright, Palestine in the earliest historical Period. JPOS 2 (1922) 110-38. [A discussion of the history of Palestine during the period 3000-1600 B.C.] *W. F. Albright*, Egypt and the early history of the Negeb. JPOS 4 (1924) 131-61. [The history of Southern Judah from the Hyksos period on, and the topography of Simeon.] *A. Alt*, Pharaos Thutmosis III in Palästina. PJ 10 (1914) 53-99. *H. Gressmann*, Die Bibel im Spiegel Ägyptens. [A series of ten articles in Protestantenblatt, vol. 49.] *B. Gunn*, Interpreters of Dreams in Ancient Egypt. JEA 4 (1917) 252. [The "magicians" of Gen. 41, 8, 24, if we follow the rendering of the Bohairic version, were clairvoyants and probably interpreters of dreams.] *H. Hoppe*, Ägypten und das Alte Testament. NKZ 30 (1919) 485-509. [Historical, religious, political, commercial, and cultural relations between Egypt and Israel.] *E. Lenken*, Der Einfluss Ägyptens auf Palästina auf Grund der in Palästina gemachten Ausgrabungen. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Göttingen, 1917. *S. A. B. Mercer*, Extrabiblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History. London, 1914. [The Egyptian as well as the cuneiform records bearing on the O. T.] *M. Modica*, Egiziani, Greci, Romani ed Ebrei nell'antico Egitto e i loro rapporti politici. Palermo, 1922. *W. Max Müller*, Ein ägyptischer Beitrag zur Geschichte Palästinas um 1500 v. Chr. OLZ 17 (1914) 103-5. [Papyrus 116A of St. Petersburg, dating from the middle of the reign of Thotmes III, lists some tax payments from Philistia and Palestine.] *W. Max Müller*, An Egyptian Document for the History of Palestine. JQR n.s. 4 (1913-14) 651-6. *J. Offord*, Egyptian Records illustrative of Genesis xxxvi. PEF QS 49 (1917) 91-3. [Some proper names in the Sahidic

version of Gen. 36 occur in ancient Egyptian records.] *E. Peet*, Egypt and the Old Testament. Liverpool, 1922. [Chiefly a warning against the assurance with which conclusions have been reached on the basis of insufficient evidence.] *J. Slabý*, Gen. 40, 1 im Lichte der altägyptischen Denkmäler. TG 9, 22-9; Gen. 50, 2-10 im Lichte der altägyptischen Denkmäler und Urkunden. TQ 100 (1919) 225-51 (cf. p. 402); Gen. 41, 41-42 und die altägyptischen Denkmäler. BZ 16 (1922) 18-33. *W. Spiegelberg*, Die Beisetzung des Patriarchen Jakob (Gen. 50, 2 ff.) im Lichte der ägypt. Quellen. OLZ 26 (1923) 421-4. [The 70 days of mourning, the "physicians" (really embalmers, cf. LXX), the age of Joseph, and other details reveal a correct knowledge of Egyptian customs.] *D. Völter*, Ägyptische Parallele zu Ex. 20, 7. ZAW 38 (1919/20) 112. *C. M. Watson*, Egypt and Palestine. PEF QS 47 (1915) 132-43. [A summary of the subject.]

3. THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF ISRAEL

(a) *General works*

(1) Biblical antiquities. *L. Berkhof*, Biblical Archaeology. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915. *A. Bertholet*, Kulturgeschichte Israels. Göttingen, 1919. (A History of Hebrew Civilization. Transl. by A. K. Dallas. London, 1926.) *C. H. Cornill*, The Culture of Ancient Israel. Chicago, 1914. [A series of monographs on the rise of the people Israel, Moses, the education of children, music, the Psalms.] *H. Dingler*, Die Kultur der Juden. Leipzig, 1919. *G. Keizer*, Bijbelsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1914. *F. X. Korteiner*, Archaeologia Biblica. Nova Editio. Innsbruck, 1917. [One of the best informed works on the subject.] *P. Volz*, Die Biblichen Altertümer. Calw, 1914. 2. Aufl., 1925.

(2) The culture of Canaan and of Israel. *R. A. S. Macalister*, A History of Civilization in Palestine. 2nd. Edit. Cambridge, 1921. *J. Pedersen*, Israel. I, II. Sjaeleliv og samfundsliv. Copenhagen, 1920. (Israel, its Life and Culture. London, 1926.) [Thorough and original, but somewhat confused in arrangement.] *A. Schechter*, Palästina: seine Geschichte und

Kultur im Lichte der neuesten Ausgrabungen und Forschungen. Berlin, 1918. *H. von Soden*, Palästina und seine Geschichte. (Aus Natur und Geisterwelt, No. 6.) 4. Aufl. Leipzig, 1918. *P. Thomsen*, Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden. (Aus Natur und Geisterwelt, No. 260.) 2. Aufl. Leipzig, 1917.

(b) *Monographs on special topics*

(1) Agriculture and shepherding. *A. Bertholet*, Landbau und A. T. Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde 20 (1916) 1-26. Strassburg, 1916. *G. Dalman*, Butter, Dickmilch und Käse im Alten Testament. PJ 15 (1919) 31-5. *J. Döllner*, Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud. Bibl 4 (1923) 143-67; 267-99. [Antiquity of vine-culture in Palestine; the cultivation of the vine; the preparation of wine and its secular and sacred uses; abstinence; the value of wine.] *A. Eberharder*, Wie alt ist der Getreidebau in Palästina und welche Getreidearten wurden angebaut? Kathol. Kirchenzeit. (Salzburg) 49, 438-40. *P. Haupt*, Alcohol in the Bible. JBL 36 (1917) 75-92. *H. F. Lutz*, Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient. Leipzig, 1922. [A selection of source material.] *V. Zapletal*, Der Wein in der Bibel. Kulturgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie. (BSt xx, 1.) Freiburg i/B., 1920.

(2) Architecture. *A. C. Dickie*, The Jews as Builders. PEF QS 48 (1916) 26-33. *A. Reifenberg*, Architektur und Kunstgewerbe im alten Israel. Vienna, 1925. [Chiefly photographic material.]

(3) Arts and crafts. *K. Galling*, Die Beleuchtungsgeräte im israelitisch-jüdischen Kulturgebiet. ZDPV 46 (1923) 1-50. [An illustrated study of Hebrew lamps through the centuries.] *E. Kalt*, Israelitische Kleinkunst. (3. Vereinsschrift der Görresgesellschaft, 18-27.) Cologne, 1921. *H. Hänslers*, Die Lampe, ihre Bedeutung und Entwicklung in Palästina. Das Heilige Land 58.

(4) Burial customs. *W. Caspari*, Erd- und Feuerbestattung. Der biblische Brauch auf ethnographischem Hintergrund. (ZSF ix, 10.) Berlin-Lichterfelde, 1914. *H. J. Elhorst*, Die israelitischen Trauerriten. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [Twofold



explanation of funerary customs: 1. The care for the deceased. 2. The protection of the house from occult powers.] *J. Olschwanger*, *Die Leichenbestattung bei den Juden sprachlich und sittengeschichtlich untersucht*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Bern, 1916. *A. J. Wensinck*, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*. Studies on their origin and mutual relation. (Verhandl. d. K. Akad. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Literary Sect. N.S. 18 (1917) 1.) [Religious rites are derived from funerary practices.]

(5) Calendar. *B. Cohn*, *Die Anfangsepoche des jüdischen Kalenders*. (Sitzungsber. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1914, 10, 350-4). *F. Dunkel*, *Einiges aus dem jüdischen Festkalender*. *Das Heilige Land* 59, 211-26. *J. Morgenstern*, *The three Calendars of Ancient Israel*. *HVCA* I 13-78. *M. P. Nilsson*, *Primitive Time-Reckoning. A Study in the Origins and first Development of the Art of counting Time among primitive and early culture Peoples*. (Skrifter utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskap samfundet i Lund, I). Lund, 1920. [The Sabbath was a market-day encompassed by taboos.]

(6) Commerce and navigation. *A. Abeles*, *Der Bürge nach biblischen Recht. Ein bibel-exegetischer Versuch auf recht-vergleichender Grundlage*. *MGWJ* 66 [N.F. 30] (1922) 279-94; 67 [N.F. 31] (1923) 35-53. *W. E. Barnes*, *Business in the Bible*. London, 1924. *P. Karge*, *Die Bedeutung Palästinas für den Handel einst und jetzt*. *Schlesisches Pastoralblatt* 36, 113-22. *A. Köster*, *Das antike Seewesen*. Berlin, 1923. *W. Noty*, *Monopolies in the Ancient Orient*. *BS* 74 (1917) 254-83. *W. H. Schoff*, *The Ship "Tyre."* Longmans, Green and Co., 1920. [A study of Ez. 26-28 and of ancient commerce.]

(7) Education and learning. *H. Gressmann*, *Der Schreiber als Gelehrte*. *Protestantenblatt* 50, Nos. 10. 12. [The royal scribes could write rapidly in cursive.] *M. Kegel*, *Die Erziehung der Jugend im Volke Israel*. Berlin, 1917. *S. Ronzevalle*, *Langues et écritures en Israël*. *RSR* 7 (1917) 353-417. *F. H. Swift*, *Education in Ancient Israel*. Chicago, 1919.

(8) Garments and coiffure. *H. Gressmann*, *Haartracht der Israeliten*. (Budde Festschr.) *H. F. Lutz*, *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East*. Leipzig,

1923. *H. Mötefindt*, Zur Geschichte der Barttracht im alten Orient. *Klio* 19 (1923) 1-61. *L. Speelers*, Le costume oriental ancien. Paris, 1923.

(9) Medicine. *H. Algyogyi*, Über die angebliche Beulenpest der Philister. (Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. deutsch. Naturforscher und Ärzte, 85. Versamml. in Wien, 21-28 Sept. 1913, ii, 2, 334-6.) [1 Sam. 5, 6. 9. 12; 6, 4f do not refer to the bubonic plague.] *T. Canaan*, Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel. (Abhandl. des Hamburgisch. Kolonialinstitutes xx, [Reihe B, Band xii].) Hamburg, 1914. [Alleged origin of disease; diagnosis, prognosis, signs of improvement or of death, protective measures (such as amulets, talismans, etc.).] *H. W. Hill*, Modern Leprosy and Biblical *tsaarath*. Amer. Journ. of Public Health, 1914. [Disputes their identification.] *A. Kharon*, Étude sur les principes médicaux et hygiéniques des Hébreux. Toulouse, 1914. *A. Lods*, Les idées des Israélites sur la maladie. (Marti Festschr.) [Causes and cures of disease.] *E. W. G. Masterman*, Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in modern and Biblical Times. PEF QS 50 (1918) and 51 (1919). [On the O.T. see 50 (1918) 161-71.] *J. D. Prince*, Note on Leprosy in the Old Testament. JBL 38 (1919) 30-34. [The "leprosy" of Lev. 13-14 is of the tuberculous or pustulating kind and affects chiefly men; that of 2 Ki. 5, 27; Ex. 4, 6; Num. 12, 10 is characterized by snow-white skin decay and affects chiefly women.]

(10) Music and dance. *J. Stainer*, The Music of the Bible. New Edit. by F. W. Galpin. London, 1914. *W. O. E. Oesterley*, The Sacred Dance: a Study in comparative Folklore. Cambridge, 1923. [The author is chiefly concerned with the Israelites; he postulates for them practices known elsewhere and assumes a magical origin of religious practices.]

(11) Weights and measures. *A. R. S. Kennedy*, Hebrew Weights and Measures. Transact. of the Victoria Institute, 47. London, 1915. [The cubit was $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches.] *C. F. Lehmann-Haupt*, Historisch-metrologische Forschungen. 2. Die hebräischen Masse und das pheidonische System. *Klio* 14 (1914/15) 345-70. [The Hebrew measures, like those of Pheidon king of Argos (750 B.C.) are of Babylonian origin, although the Hebrew

system has also been influenced by Egypt.] *E. J. Pilcher*, *The Shekel of the Sanctuary*. PEF QS 47 (1915) 186-95. [It is the equivalent of two drachmas or of one stater.] *O. Viedebanitt*, *Zur hebräischen und syrischen Gewichtskunde*. ZDPV 45 (1922) 1-22. [A list of inscribed and uninscribed weights found in the excavations.] *C. Warren*, *The early Weights and Measures of Mankind*. London, 1914.

On פִּים in 1 Sam. 13, 21: *S. T. Byington*, JBL 39 (1920) 77-80; *E. J. Pilcher*, PEF QS 46 (1914) 99; 48 (1916) 77-85; *S. Raffaeli*, JPOS 1 (1920) 22-4; JBL 40 (1921) 184; *M. H. Segal*, PEF QS 47 (1915) 40-1.

4. THE SOCIOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ISRAEL

(a) *Social and economic conditions and institutions*

(1) Economic conditions. *H. Bruppacher*, *Die Beurteilung der Armut im Alten Testament*. Zürich, 1924. [Poverty was regarded as an evil although Yahweh was thought to be the champion of the poor.] *A. Causse*, *La législation sociale d'Israël et l'idéal patriarcal*. RTP n.s. 7 (1919) 189-215; 237-56. [The prophets restored "the ideal of poverty and the vision of patriarchal fraternity."] *A. Causse*, *Les "Pauvres" d'Israel (Prophètes, Psalmistes, Messianistes)*. Strasburg and Paris, 1922. [The prophetic reaction against monarchical civilization; the Psalter, the book of the Poor of Israel; those who awaited the deliverance of Israel.] *P. Jedzink*, *Die Arbeitspflicht im Alten Testament*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Braunsberg, 1920. *M. J. Lauré*, *The Property Concepts of the Hebrews*. (Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History. University of Iowa. Research Bulletin, vol. iv, No. 2.) Iowa City, 1915. [The idea of property originated in taboo. The first object of property was woman captured in war.] *J. Ridderbos*, *De "armen" en de "zachtmoedigen" in het Oude Testament*. GTT 1914, 18-29. *H. Schaeffer*, *Hebrew tribal Economy and the Jubilee as illustrated in Semitic and Indo-European Village Communities*. Leipzig, 1923. [The Jubilee is based on conceptions antedating private ownership of land.] *H. Schaeffer*, *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*. New

Haven, 1915. [A study of the laws and customs of the Hebrews, with illustrations from Arabia and Babylonia.] *M. Sulzberger*, *The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel*. Philadelphia, 1923. [An ideal picture hardly true to the facts.] *L. Tondelli*, *Le sanzioni dell' Esodo per il maltrattamento degli Schiavi*. Bibl 5 (1924) 367-8. [On Ex. 21, 20 f.] *M. Weber*, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Vol. III: *Das Antike Judentum*. Tübingen, 1921. [Cf. *W. Caspari*, *Die Gottesgemeinde vom Sinai und das nachmalige Volk Israel*. (BFCT xxvii, 1.) Gütersloh, 1922. *J. Guttmann*, MGWJ 69 (n. F. 33) (1925) 195-223.]

(2) Government. *W. Caspari*, *Thronbesteigung und Thronfolge der israelitischen Könige*. (Altorient. Texte u. Untersuch. hrsg. v. B. Meissner, i, 3.) Leiden, 1917. [The Israelite monarchy is not of Canaanitic origin.] *G. A. Dächsel*, *Treuverhältnisse im A. T. Eine biblisch-rechtliche Studie*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Part I. Breslau, 1914. [On the secular relations between king and subjects, feudal lord and vassals.] *E. Day*, *Was the Hebrew Monarchy limited?* AJSL 40 (1924) 98-110. [Even a strong ruler could not ignore the authority of the tribal elders.] *H. H. Gowen*, *Were the Hebrews Democratic?* ATR 3 (1920/21) 137-40. *O. Procksch*, *König und Prophet in Israel*. (Lecture.) Greifswald, 1924. [The prophets opposed the monarchy until it came to an end and became a prophetic hope.] *E. Stave*, *Folkmacht och Kungamakt i Israel*. BF 31 (1914) 166-90. [A study on the relations between popular and royal power in Israel.]

(3) Legislation. *L. Aubert*, *Le code Hittite et l'Ancien Testament*. RHPR 4 (1924) 352-70. *A. Eberhardter*, *Anklänge an babylonische Rechtsanschauungen in der Genesis*. TPMS 24, 395-99. [Babylonian legal parallels to Gen. 16, 1; 30, 1-4; 16, 4; 23; 24, 1-4; 27; 31, 19 ff.; 38, 24.] *G. Förster*, *Diebstahl und Raub im Gesetze Hammurabis*. ZA 28, 337-40. [Parallels between Ex. 22, 1-2 and the Code of Hammurabi.] *R. S. Galer*, *Old Testament Law for Bible Students*. Classified and arranged as in modern legal Systems. New York, 1922. *M. Hyamson*, *Mosaicarum et Romanorum Legum Collatio*. Oxford, 1920. *A. Jirku*, *Eine neue altassyrische Parallele zum*

mosaischem Gesetz und zum Codex Hammurapi. TLB 41 (1920) 401-5. *C. H. W. Johns*, The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples. (The Schweich Lectures, 1912.) London, 1914. 2nd. Edit., Oxford, 1917. [The best book on the subject.] *J. Kohler*, Orientalisches Recht. (Die Kultur der Gegenwart, Allgemeine Rechtsgeschichte, II, vii, 1: 1-153.) Berlin and Leipzig, 1914. *M. J. Lagrange*, L'homicide d'après le code de Hammourabi et d'après la Bible. RB 25 (1916) 440-71. [The Hammurabi Code (cf. *M. Jastrow, jr.* in JAOS 36, 1916, 1 ff.) and the Pentateuchal law are the result of a long juristic development.] *H. S. Linfield*, The relation of Jewish to Babylonian Law. AJSL 36 (1919) 40-66. [Deals chiefly with Talmudic law.] *W. F. Loft-house*, The Mosaic Codes and popular Hebrew Religion. Exp 11 (1916) 66-80. [The Pentateuchal Codes are animated by a progressive religious idealism.] *S. A. B. Mercer*, New Evidence on the Origin of Israel's Laws. ATR 4 (1921/22) 314-24. *J. Pedersen*, Fremmed indflydelse paa Israels lovgivning. (St Buhl.) [Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite influence on O. T. codes.] *R. H. Pfeiffer*, An Analysis of the Hammurabi Code. AJSL 36 (1920) 310-15. *A. F. Puukko*, Die altassyrischen und hethitischen Gesetze und das Alte Testament. SO 126-66. *Rosenthal*, Die Bibel im Lichte der altbabylonischen Gesetzgebung. Jesch 1916, 282-9. *M. Sultzberger*, The ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide. Philadelphia, 1915. *L. Waterman*, Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant. AJSL 38 (1921) 36-54. [The 5 decalogues in Ex. 21, 2-22, 15 and in Dt. 22, 13-25 are the pre-Israelite laws of Shechem.] *H. M. Wiener*, Early Hebrew History and other Studies. London, 1924. [On the centrifugal and centripetal factors in Hebrew history, on persistence and change in Hebrew legislation, and on the various types of responsibility.]

(4) Marriage and the social condition of women. *G. Beer*, Die soziale und religiöse Stellung der Frau im israelitischen Altertum. (SGV 88). Tübingen, 1919. [The contrast between the social and the religious position of women.] *F. M. T. Böhl*, The Position of Women in Ancient Babylonia and Israel. BS 77 (1920) 4-13; 186-97. *P. Cruveilhier*, Le lévirat chez les

Hébreux et chez les Assyriens. RB 34 (1925) 524-46. *J. Döllér*, Das Weib im Alten Testament. (BZF ix, 7-9.) Münster, 1920. *A. Eberharder*, Das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer, mit Rücksicht auf die ethnologische Forschung dargestellt. (AA, v, 1-2.) Münster, 1914. *H. Holzinger*, Ehe und Frau im vordeuteronomische Israel. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [The position of women is higher in the Hammurabi Code than in the early Hebrew codes, but the Babylonian law of marriage is merely concerned with property rights.] *J. Neubauer*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des biblisch-talmudischen Eheschliessungsrecht; eine rechtvergleichend-historische Studie. MVAG 24/25 (1919/20.) [Even in the earliest period Israel had advanced beyond the common Oriental form of marriage by purchase.] *J. Scheftelowitz*, Die Leviratehe. ARW 18 (1915) 250-56. [Levirate marriage is a survival of the conception of woman as a chattel belonging to the heirs of an estate.] *L. Szczepanski*, Impedimenta matrimonialia apud Hebraeos et in iure canonico. (MUSJ x, 3.) Beyrouth, 1925. *W. D. van Wijngaarden*, De sociale positie van de vrouw bij Israel in der voor- en na-exilischen tijd. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Leiden, 1919. [The ethical consideration for woman increased with her withdrawal from public life, which involved a lower social position.]

Women in the Old Testament. *W. Caspari*, Die Frau in den Samuelbüchern. TSK 88 (1915) 1-28.

(5) Vows, oaths, and covenants. *W. Gottschalk*, Das Gelübde nach älteren arabischer Auffassung. Berlin, 1919. *J. Pedersen*, Der Eid bei den Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam. (Studien z. Geschichte und Kult. des Islam. Orients, iii.) Strassburg, 1914. [A study of covenant and oath, and of their mutual relations, in the O.T. and in Islam.]

(6) War. *O. Eissfeldt*, Krieg und Bibel. (RGV v, 15-16.) Tübingen, 1915. *H. Gunkel*, Israelitisches Heldentum und Kriegsfrömmigkeit im Alten Testament. Göttingen, 1916. *K. Klingemann*, Das Heldentum in der Bibel. Bonn, 1915.

(b) *The social ideals of the Old Testament*

(1) The nomadic ideal. *W. Caspari*, Orgiastik und alttestamentliche Weissagung. NKZ 33 (1922) 383-98. [Deut. 17 opposes current forms of orgy: meat orgy, intoxication, sexual orgy, and dance orgy.] *J. W. Flight*, The nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament. JBL 42 (1923) 158-226. [The nomadic ideal is not only an urge toward a more primitive culture, as with the Rechabites, but also an insistence on spiritual simplicity.] *P. Humbert*, La logique de la perspective nomade chez Osée et l'unité d'Osée 2, 4-22. (Marti Festschr.) [Hosea thought that the adoption of the civilization of Canaan had led to nefarious results.] *J. M. P. Smith*, The Conservatism of Early Prophecy. AJT 23 (1919) 290-9. [J and E, "prophetic documents," denounce agriculture and civilization.]

(2) The social teaching of the prophets. *W. B. Bizzell*, The social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. Boston, 1916. *H. J. Cadbury*, National Ideals in the Old Testament. New York, 1920. *A. Eberharder*, Die soziale und politische Wirksamkeit des alttestamentlichen Prophetismus. Salzburg, 1924. *T. G. Soares*, The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible. New York, 1915. *E. Stave*, Profeternas politiskt-sociala förkunnelse, sådan den uppfattats och sådan den är. BF 31 (1914) 405-25. [The political and social message of the prophets as it has been understood and as it really is.]

II. RELIGION

1. GENERAL WORKS ON THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL

(a) *Introductory questions*

W. W. von Baudissin, Zur Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion in ihren universalen Bedeutung. Berlin, 1914. [Two lectures dealing with the transformation of the "theology of the O.T." into the "history of the religion of Israel" and with nationalism and universalism in the O.T.] *E. König*, Der jetzige Zustand der "Alttestamentliche Theologie" und die Mittel seiner Verbesserung. Bibl 3 (1922) 74-9. [See also ARW 17 (1914) 35-63; BS 80 (1923) 465-70; Exp 23 (1922)

383-419; Reformation 1915, 567-71; etc.] *J. Morgenstern*, The historical Reconstruction of Hebrew Religion and Archaeology. JR 1 (1921) 233-54. [A discussion of non-Biblical sources for our knowledge of the Hebrew religion.] *C. Steuernagel*, Alttestamentliche Theologie und alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte. (Marti Festsschr.) [Both disciplines have a legitimate place in O.T. study.]

(b) *History of the religion of Israel*

G. A. Barton, The Religion of Israel. New York, 1919. *H. T. Fowler*, The Origin and Growth of Hebrew Religion. Chicago, 1917. *F. Giesebrecht*, Die Grundzüge der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte. 3rd. Edit. by *A. Bertholet*. (Aus Natur und Geisterwelt, 52.) Leipzig and Berlin, 1919. *G. Hölscher*, Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion. (Sammlung Töpelmann i, 7.) Giessen, 1922. [D, Ezek., H, and P are crowded within a period of less than a century following 500 B.C.] *R. Kittel*, Die Religion des Volkes Israel. Leipzig, 1921. [The Religion of the People Israel. Transl. by R. C. Micklem. London, 1925.] *A. C. Knudson*, The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament. New York, 1918. *E. König*, Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion, kritisch dargestellt. 2nd. Edit. Gütersloh, 1915. [Monotheism is traced back to Abraham.] *E. König*, Theologie des Alten Testaments kritisch und vergleichend dargestellt. Stuttgart, 1922. New edit., 1923. *R. Kreglinger*, La religion d'Israël. (Études sur l'origine et le développement de la vie religieuse, iii). Bruxelles, 1922. [A series of monographs.] *C. Lattey* (Editor), The Religion of the Scriptures. Papers from the Catholic Bible Congress held at Cambridge, July 16-19, 1921. 2nd Edit. Cambridge, 1921. *M. Löhr*, Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte. (Sammlung Göschen.) 2nd Edit. Berlin, 1919. *J. P. Peters*, The Religion of the Hebrews. (Handbooks on the History of Religions, v.) Boston, 1914. [A standard work.] *N. Peters*, Die Religion des Alten Testaments in ihrer Einzigartigkeit unter den Religionen des alten Orients. Münster, 1921. *O. Procksch*, Altes Testament und Judentum. Leipzig, 1921. *J. Rothstein*, Die Religion

des Alten Testaments im Lichte geschichtlicher Wahrhaftigkeit. Gütersloh, 1921. *H. P. Smith*, The Religion of Israel. Edinburgh, 1914; New York, 1915. [One of the best works on the subject, particularly for the earliest period.]

(c) *The religion of the Old Testament in its relation to Christianity*

A. Bertholet, Der Beitrag des alten Testaments zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte. (SGV 106.) Tübingen, 1923. *E. Dujardin*, The Source of the Christian Tradition. A critical History of Ancient Judaism. Rev. Edit., translated by J. McCabe. Chicago, 1914. *M. G. Glazebrook*, Hebrew Conceptions of Atonement and their influence upon Early Christian Doctrine. JTS 20 (1919) 109–26. *R. Gyllenberg*, Gott der Vater im Alten Testament und in der Predigt Jesu. SO 51–60. *R. H. Kennett*, The Contribution of the Old Testament to the religious Development of Mankind. (Peake, People and Book, 383–402.) *E. König*, Israels Religion nach ihrer Stellung in der Geistesgeschichte der Menschheit beurteilt. (Christentum und Judentum i, 2.) Gütersloh, 1919. *E. Meyer*, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums. (3 Vols.) Vol. II: Die Entwicklung des Judenthums und Jesus von Nazaret. Stuttgart, 1921. *S. Minocchi*, Il Pantheon. Origini del Cristianesimo. Florence, 1914. *C. G. Montefiore*, The Old Testament and after. London, 1923. [Religious deficiencies of the O.T. are remedied by the N.T., the Rabbinic literature, and Hellenism.] *G. F. Moore*. History of Religions. Vol. II: Judaism, Christianity, Moham-medanism. (Internat. Theol. Library.) New York, 1919. [A brilliant synthesis.] *G. Stosch*, Die Universalität des absoluten Gottes bei Jesaja. Evangel. Kirchenzeit. 89, Nos. 21–25. [God in Is. 40–66 is just as absolute as in the N.T.]

2. SINGLE PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE RELIGION
OF ISRAEL

(a) *The Semitic background of the Hebrew religion*

W. F. Albright, The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity 'An- 'Anat- 'Attâ. AJSL 41 (1925) 73–101; 283–5. *W. W.*

Baudissin, Zur Geschichte des Monotheismus bei den semitischen Völker. DLZ 1914, No. 1. Der Gerechte Gott in alt-semitischer Religion. (Harnack Festschr., 1-23.) *S. A. Cook*, The Religious Environment of Israel. (Peake, People and Book, 41-72.) *D. M. Kay*, The Semitic Religions. Edinburgh, 1923. *M. Löhr*, The Religion of Israel in the Light of the Religions of the Ancient East. BS 78 (1921) 295-318. *B. Moritz*, Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit. (Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., xvi, 2.) Berlin, 1917. [Parallels to the O.T. in Nabatean inscriptions.] *J. Plessis*, Étude sur les textes concernant Ištar-Astarte. Recherches sur sa nature et son culte dans le monde sémitique et dans la Bible. (Autographed Doctoral Dissertation.) Paris, 1921. *H. Seeger*, Die Treibkräfte des religiösen Lebens in Israel und Babylonien. Tübingen, 1923. [A comparison between the piety and religious psychology in Israel and in Babylonia.]

(b) *The primitive religion of Israel and its survivals*

G. C. Aalders, Sporen van Animisme in het Oude Testament? Kampen, 1914. [Animistic elements are found, in decreasing amount, only in the popular religion of Israel.] *G. Beer*, Steinverehrung bei den Israeliten. Berlin, 1921. *A. Bertholet*, Über den Ursprung des Totemismus. (Festschrift für J. Kaftan, 1-14.) Tübingen, 1920. *A. Rutgers von der Loeff*, Over het z.g.n. praeanimisme in verband met de theologie. TT 1918, 275-300. *Sarowy*, Der Animismus in Alten Testament. SS 12, 100-7; 162-70. [The O.T. contains animistic elements, but not the conception that the dead need provisions and can influence the life of their descendants.] *N. Söderblöm*, Über des Zusammenhang höheren Gottesideen mit primitiven Vorstellungen. ARW 17, 1-16. [Before Moses, Yahweh was a sort of mighty Wotan.] *J. Walles*, Messianska Folkförbund och Tidsåldrar. Enligt Bibeln och El-Amarna-Breven samt andra Källor. Upsala, 1924. [Universalism in the O.T. (and in the Amarna Letters) is derived from that portion of Israel that worshipped El, not from that which worshipped Yahweh.]

(c) *The religion of the Patriarchs*

F. Feldmann, *Israels Religion, Sitte und Kultur in der vormossaischen Zeit.* (BZF viii, 11.) Münster, 1917. *E. König*, *The burning Problem of the Hour in Old Testament Religious History.* Exp 21 (1921) 81-106. [The monotheism of Abraham contrasted with the polytheism of his kindred. See also: *Allg. Evang. Luther. Kirchenzeitung* 53 (1920) 210-12; 234-5; *NKZ* 31 (1920) 298-312.]

(d) *The religion of Moses*

B. Jakob, *Moses am Dornbusch.* MGWJ 66, n. F. 29 (1922) 11-33; 116-38; 180-200. [An attack on the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the sources of the Pentateuch.] *W. F. Lofthouse*, *Hebrew Religion from Moses to Saul.* (Peake, *People and Book*, 221-53.) [The theology of the Prophets is attributed to Moses.] *J. Meinhold*, *Zur Frage der Kultuszentralisation.* (Wellhausen *Festschr.*) [In the wilderness the ark marked for the Israelites the only place of worship.] *H. Schneider*, *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens.* 1. Die Entwicklung der Jahureligion und der Mosesagen in Israel und Juda. 2. Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos. (LSS v, 1.) Leipzig, 1919. *E. Sellin*, *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte.* Leipzig, 1922. [According to the Book of Hosea, Moses was the author of the Decalogue and died as a martyr at Shittim. (Cf. Is. 40 ff.; Zech. 12, 16.)] *D. Völter*, *Jahwe und Mose. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung.* Leiden, 1914. 2nd Edit. 1919. [Yahweh is the Egyptian god Har-Sopd; Moses is the lunar god Thot.] *H. M. Wiener*, *The Religion of Moses.* Oberlin, Ohio, 1919. [Yahweh proved Himself stronger than Amon.] *F. Wilke*, *Neue Forschungen über Mose und seine Zeit.* *NKZ* 25 (1914) 268-86. [The Ten Commandments are a summary of the Sinai religion in the time of Moses.]

(e) *The religion of Canaan and its influence on Israel*

O. Eissfeldt, *Jahwe und Baal.* *Preuss. Jahrb.* 155, 257-70. *A. von Gall*, *Über die Herkunft der Bezeichnung Jahwes als*

König. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [Yahweh became "king" of Jerusalem when He displaced Zedeq, the local deity.] *H. Gressmann*, Hadad und Baal nach den Amarnabriefen und nach ägyptischen Texte. (Baudissin Festschr.) [The Amoritic deity *AN. IM* was Baal, not Hadad, according to Egyptian records]. *R. Kittel*, Der Gott Bet'el. *JBL* 44 (1925) 123-53. [On the basis of the Elephantine Papyri, K. postulates a deity named "Bethel." See however *W. W. Baudissin*, El Bet-el (Gen. 31, 13; 35, 7) (Marti Festschr.)] *E. G. H. Kraeling*, The early Cult of Hebron and Judg. 16, 1-3. *AJSL* 41 (1925) 174-8. [The early god of Hebron was a solar deity of the dead, degraded by the Israelites to a solar hero, Samson.] *L. B. Paton*, Canaanite Influence on the Religion of Israel. *AJT* 18 (1914) 205-24. *J. Ridderbos*, Israel en de Baäls, afval of ontwikkeling. Nijverdal, 1915. [The prophets preached the religion of Moses.] *J. Scheftelowitz*, Alt-Palästinensischer Bauernglaube in religionsvergleichender Beleuchtng. Hanover, 1925. [The official religion of Israel was entirely free from magic and superstition.] *L. Wallis*, Amorite Influence in the Religion of the Bible. *BW* 45 (1915) 216-23. *W. C. Wood*, The Religion of Canaan. *JBL* 35 (1916) 1-133; 164-279. [A comprehensive study.]

(f) *The religion of Israel in the monarchical period*
(exclusive of the prophetic movement)

W. F. Badé, The Old Testament in the Light of to-day. New York, 1915. [A series of monographs on the religion in the pre-exilic period.] *W. Erbt*, Das Judentum. Die Wahrheit seiner Entstehung. Detmond, 1921. [Eccentric and speculative.] *T. J. Meek*, Some Religious Origins of the Hebrews. *AJSL* 37 (1921) 101-31. [The Levites, whose god was originally the serpent, became the propagandists of Yahweh, the god of Judah. The tribal god of Ephraim was the bull-god.] *S. Michellet*, Forberedelsen for Kristus: Israels religions historie. Fra Mose til profeterne. Christiania, 1915. [A history of the religion of Israel from Moses to the Prophets.] *A. S. Peake*, The Religion of Israel from David to the Return from the Exile. (Peake, People and Book, 255-88.) *J. M. P. Smith*, Some

Problems in the early History of the Hebrew Religion. *AJSL* 32 (1916) 81-97. [Moses and the Covenant Code are probably to be dated about 1400 (if not 1600) B.C.] *J. M. P. Smith*, Southern Influences upon Hebrew Prophecy. *AJSL* 35 (1918) 1-19. [Yahweh entered Canaan as the god of Judah, and became the god of Northern Israel in the time of David.] *J. M. P. Smith*, The Effect of the Disruption on the Hebrew Thought of God. *AJSL* 32 (1916) 261-9. [One of the elements contributing to the development of monotheism was the disruption (as a result of which Yahweh presided over the destinies of two kingdoms with conflicting aims).]

(g) *The religion of the post-exilic Jews*

(1) Persian influence on early Judaism. *G. W. Carter*, Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Boston, 1918. *W. Caspari*, Die Gottesgestalt in Daniel. *NKZ* 36 (1925) 175-99. [The philosophy and theology of Dan. 7 are materially different from the Persian.] *J. A. Maynard*, Judaism and Mazdayasna: A Study in Dissimilarities. *JBL* 44 (1925) 163-70. [Zoroastrian influence on Judaism is questioned.] *J. Scheftelowitz*, Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum. Giessen, 1920. [Persian conceptions pertaining to cosmology, angelology, demonology, and eschatology penetrated into Judaism without affecting its fundamental development.] *C. T. H. Walker*, Persian Influence on the Development of Biblical Religion. *Interpreter* 10, 313-20.

(2) Early Judaism. *W. E. Barnes*, The Development of the Religion of Israel from the Return to the Death of Simon Macabee. (Peake, People and Book, 289-322.) *L. E. Browne*, Early Judaism. Cambridge, 1920. *J. F. Genung*, The inner History of the Chaldean Exile. *BS* 73 (1916) 13-43. *R. Kittel*, Zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums. Quellenstudien. Leipzig, 1918. *J. M. P. Smith*, Jewish Religion in the Fifth Century B.C. *AJSL* 33 (1917) 322-33. [The religion disclosed by the Elephantine Papyri was that of the Jewish common people everywhere in the 5th cent.] *J. M. P. Smith*, The Religion of the Psalms. Chicago, 1922. *J. Touzard*, L'âme juive

au temps des Perses. RB 25 (1916) 299-341; 26 (1917) 54-137; 451-88; 27 (1918) 336-402; 28 (1919) 5-88; 29 (1920) 5-42; 32 (1923) 59-79; 35 (1926), etc. [A detailed study of the religious currents disclosed by Jer., Lam. Baruch, Epist. Jer., Zeph. Nah., Habac., Ez., Is. 40-55, Hag., Zech., Is. 56-66, Mal. (in this chronological order).]

(3) Judaism at the beginning of the Christian Era. *J. B. Frey*, Dieu et le monde d'après les conceptions juives au temps de Jésus-Christ. RB 25 (1916) 33-60. La Révélation d'après les conceptions juives au temps de Jésus-Christ. RB 25 (1916) 472-510. *G. F. Moore*, The Rise of Normative Judaism. I. To the Reorganization at Jamnia. II. To the Close of the Mishnah. HTR 17 (1924) 307-73; 18 (1925) 1-38.

3. THE CONCEPTION OF GOD

(a) *General works*

E. Pace, Ideas of God in Israel, their Content and Development. London, 1924. [The three conceptions of God at the beginning of the Christian Era, that of the common people, that of Jesus, and that of the Pharisees, are traced back respectively to early totemism and animism, to the prophetic teaching and the "covenant" by which the Kenite god was accepted by the Israelites, and to a mixture of these two tendencies.]

(b) *Monographs*

I. Abrahams, Glory of God. (Three Lectures.) Oxford, 1925. [The threefold connotation of the Glory of God: natural, messianic, pragmatic.] *H. Gressmann*, Die sieben Augen Gottes. Protestantenblatt 52, 302-4. [The seven eyes of Yahweh in Zech. 4, 10; cf. 3, 9, are based on a planetary conception of Yahweh due to Babylonian influence.] *H. Haag*, Jahwehs Doppelgesicht im Alten Testament im Licht der Bibel. Lorch, 1922. *G. Jahn*, Über den Gottesbegriff der alten Hebräer und ihre Geschichtsschreibung, allgemein verständlich dargestellt. Leiden, 1915. *D. Nielsen*, Der dreieinige Gott. Copenhagen, 1922. *H. Oort*, De Naijver der Goden. NTT 10 (1921) 73-87. [Yahweh is an envious, jealous god.] *D. Völter*, Die Herkunft

Jahwes. ZAW 37 (1917/18) 126-33; Zu den althebräischen Inschriften von Sinai, speziell zu der Inschrift Nr. 349. NTT 13 (1924) 21-59. [Yahweh is identical with the Egyptian solar god Sopd.] P. Volz, Das Dämonische in Jahwe. (Lecture.) (SGV 110.) Tübingen, 1924. [Yahweh was originally connected with the desert or with a volcano. Demonology is eliminated by the conception of Yahweh as sole cause of life, but ancient stories about demons are applied to Yahweh.]

4. THE RITUAL

(a) *The worship*

I. Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung. 2nd Edit. Frankfurt a/M., 1924. F. X. Kortleitner, *Formae cultus mosaici cum ceteris religionibus orientis antiqui comparatae*. Innsbruck, 1917. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Worship and Ritual*. (Peake, People and Book, 323-51.) A. J. Wensinck, *The Significance of Ritual in the Religion of Israel*. TT 53 (1919) 95-105. [Ritual, even in the Psalter, is more essential than the prophetic teaching in the religion of the O.T.]

(b) *Ritual purity*

U. Bunzel, *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament. Eine ideologische Untersuchung*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Breslau, 1914. J. Döllner, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des Alten Testaments in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*. (AA vii, 2-3.) Münster, 1917. [The dietary laws are a means of purification.] K. Fruhstorfer, *Fastenvorschriften und Fastenlehren der Heiligen Schrift des Alten Bundes*. TPQ 69, 59-72. [A systematic treatment of fasting.] J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Sündentilgung durch Wasser*. ARW 17 (1914) 354-412. [Although cleansing of sin through water is a poetic expression in the O.T., the common people believed in its effectiveness.]

(c) *Sacrifice*

(1) The meaning and nature of sacrifice. R. Dussaud, *Le sacrifice en Israël et chez les Phéniciens*. Paris, 1915. *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*. Paris, 1921. [The Israelitic system, in contrast with the Babylonian, agrees with

the Punic: both are derived from an early Amoritic-Phenician one.] *G. B. Gray*, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament; its Theory and Practice*. Oxford, 1924. [A standard work.] *G. B. Gray*, *Interpretations of Jewish Sacrifice*. Exp 9 (1915) 385-404. [Views on the meaning of sacrifice since Philo.] *G. B. Gray*, *The Antiquity and Perpetuity of Sacrifice*. Exp 9 (1915) 528-52. [Conflicting Jewish views on the antiquity and on the theoretical validity of the obligation to sacrifice after 70 A.D.]. *A. Loisy*, *Essai historique sur le sacrifice*. Paris, 1920. [Loisy regards the earliest sacrifice as a magic rite (connected with totemism) and as a gift of food to the deceased.] *A. Médebielle*, *Le symbolisme du sacrifice expiatoire en Israël*. Bibl 2 (1921) 146-69; 273-302. [Sacrifice is originally both a gift and an expiation through blood.]

(2) Particular sacrifices. *G. B. Gray*, *The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel*. Exp 10 (1915) 1-23. [Gen. 4, 1-16, according to which animal sacrifice alone is acceptable, is in conflict with P.] *G. B. Gray*, *Cain's Sacrifice: A new Theory*. Exp 21 (1921) 161-82. [A criticism of *A. Ehrenzweig*, ZAW 35 (1915) 1-11, who regards Cain's slaying of Abel as a foundation-sacrifice.] *J. Scheftelowitz*, *Das Stellvertretende Huhnopfer*. Giessen, 1914. — *Das Opfer der roten Kuh* (Num. 19). ZAW 39 (1921) 113-23. [The sacrifice of the red heifer is a primitive heathen practice intended to exorcize the demons in a corpse.]

(3) The ban. *L. Delporte*, *L'anathème de Jahvé*. *Recherches sur le Herem pré-exilien en Israël*. RSR 5 (1914) 297-338. *A. Fernandez*, *El herem bíblico*. Bibl 5 (1924) 3-25. [In essence the herem (ban) is neither a sacrifice nor a vow, but either a consecration to God of something pleasing or the destruction of something abominable in His sight.]

(4) Libations. *E. Busse*, *Der Wein im Kult des Alten Testaments*. (Freiburg. Theol. Stud., 29.) Freiburg i/B., 1922. [Wine libations on the part of the Israelites are unknown before the entrance into Canaan. Ex. 29, 38 (P) may represent pre-exilic usage.] *J. A. Kelso*, *The Water-Libation in the Old Testament*. Exp 24 (1922) 226-40. [Water libation (1 Sam. 7, 6; 2 Sam. 23, 14 ff.) was originally conceived as an offering to the dead, later as a symbol of penitence.]

(5) Tithes. *O. Eissfeldt*, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultus.* (BWA 22). Leipzig, 1917. [A discussion of the several terms for firstlings and tithes.] *O. Eissfeldt*, *Zum Zehnten bei den Babyloniern.* (Baudissin Festschr.) [In Israel the tithes were paid in kind; in Babylonia they were paid in money or checks and had little connection with sacrifice]. *A. H. Godbey*, *The Hebrew Tithe.* *Monist*, Jan. 1916. *S. Herner*, *Vegetabilische Erstlingsopfer im Pentateuch.* (Acta Univ. Lundensis, Nova Ser., 1. Avdel, xiv, 1.) Lund and Leipzig, 1918. *J. M. P. Smith*, *The Deuteronomic Tithe.* *AJT* 18 (1914) 119-26.

(d) *Festivals*

(1) The Sabbath. *B. D. Eerdmans*, *Sabbath.* (Marti Festschr.) [The Sabbath is originally the day of the planet Saturn on which the desert smiths (Kenites) omitted the lighting of the fire.] *J. Hehn*, *Zur Sabbatfrage.* *BZ* 14 (1916) 198-213. [The Sabbath was not a Babylonian institution, but an immemorial Israelitic festival.] *M. Jastrow jr.*, *On מחרת השבת* ("The day after the Sabbath.") *AJSL* 30 (1914) 94-110. ["Sabbath" (cf. the Assyrian *šabattu*) means originally the full-moon.] *Kirberg*, *Gesetz und Sabbat.* *Ref. Kirchenzeit.* 1917, 2-4; 9-12. *M. G. Kyle*, *Did the Babylonians give Israel the Sabbath?* *SST* 58 (1916) 311. *T. J. Meek*, *The Sabbath in the Old Testament (its Origin and Development).* *JBL* 33 (1914) 201-12. [The Sabbath was originally the full-moon. The prophets emphasized the element of rest, whereas its ritualistic significance began in the Exile (Ezek.).] *J. Meinhold*, *Zur Sabbatfrage.* *ZAW* 36 (1916) 108-10. (Cf. *Sabbat und Sonntag.* Leipzig, 1918.) [The sabbath is compared with similar institutions among African tribes.] *J. H. Michael*, *The Jewish Sabbath in Latin classical Writers.* *AJSL* 40 (1924) 117-24. [Suetonius, Petronius, and Martial refer to fasting on the Sabbath, although the Jewish Law forbade it.] *K. Sonies*, *Over den oorsprong van den israelitischen sabbat.* *TT* 51 (1917) 342-64. [The Sabbath of the Israelites has no connection with the Babylonian full-moon day.]

(2) The feast of unleavened bread and the Passover. *W. W. Cannon*, Passover and Priests Code. Exp 19 (1920) 226-35. [Ex. 12, 1-14 (P) is at variance with other sections of P, but in harmony with JE (12, 21-27).] *H. Guthe*, Das Passahfest nach Dtn. (Baudissin Festschr.) [Deut. 16, 1 ff. is the earliest reference to the Passover in the O.T.] *H. Guthe*, Zum Passah der jüdischen Religionsgemeinde. TSK 96/97 (1925) 144-71. [2 Chron. 35, 1-19 (based on Deut. 16) describes the Passover (as it was celebrated about 300 B.C.) in a manner totally at variance with the rites described in Ex. 12, 1-13 and with the practice in the time of Jesus.] *J. Morgenstern*, The Origin of *maṣṣoth* and the *maṣṣoth* Festival. AJT 21 (1917) 275-93. [Before its amalgamation with the Passover, the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated *before* the beginning of the barley harvest.]

(3) The feast of tabernacles. *F. J. Badcock*, The Feast of Tabernacles. JTS 24 (1923) 169-74. [The celebration of the festival in the 1st Century A.D.] *R. Eisler*, Jahwehs Hochzeit mit der Sonne. Ein Neumonds- und Hüttenfestlied Davids aus dem Salomonischen "Buch der Lieder" (zu Ps. 19, 2 7 und 1 Kön. 8, 12 f. [53 LXX.] (Hommel Festschr. ii, 21-70.) [Cf. *K. Budde*, OLZ 22 (1919) 257-66.] *H. Gressmann*, Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris. (AO xxiii, 3.) Leipzig, 1923. — The Mysteries of Adonis and the Feast of Tabernacles. Exp. 9th Ser., 3 (1925) 416-32. [The feast of tabernacles is derived from a Canaanite booth feast of Adonis.] *J. Haury*, Das eleusinische Fest ursprünglich identisch mit dem Laubhüttenfest der Juden. München, 1914. [The feast of tabernacles is originally identical with the festival of Dionysos on the last day of the Eleusinian mysteries, cf. Plutarch, Sympos. iv, 6, 2.] *R. Kittel*, Osirismysterien und Laubhüttenfest. OLZ 27 (1924) 385-91. [The feast of tabernacles is probably a Canaanite fertility-cult festival in honor of Baal-Adonis, in which certain rites of the Osiris mysteries played a part.]

(4) The day of atonement. *S. Landersdorfer*, Studien zum biblischen Versöhnungstag. (AA x, 1.) Münster, 1924. [Although the text of Lev. 16 is in part late, the day of atonement is an ancient institution, possibly even pre-Mosaic. Originally

it was merely a purification of the sanctuary.] *A. Médebielle*, *L'expiation dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*. Vol. I: *L'Ancien Testament*. Rome, 1924. [A study of the day of atonement and of expiation outside of the sacrificial system.]

(5) Miscellaneous. *H. Höpfl*, *Das Chanukafest*. *Bibl* 3 (1922) 165-79. [The feast of dedication is not connected with the winter solstice. The custom of lighting candles in the windows (Persius, *Sat.* v, 179-84) became a religious duty (Midrash Ba-Midbar Rabba *ad Num.* 15, 5).] *H. St. J. Thackeray*, *The Song of Hannah and other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day*. *JTS* 16 (1915) 177-203. [A determination of the scriptural lessons read on New Year's day in the synagogues.]

(e) *Prayer*

J. Döllner, *Das Gebet im Alten Testament in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*. (Theol. Stud. d. österreich. Leo-Gesellsch. hrsg. v. Grabmann u. Innitzer xxi, 107.) Vienna, 1914. *A. Greiff*, *Das Gebet im Alten Testament*. (AA v, 3.) Münster, 1915. *H. Gunkel*, *Die Frommigkeit der Psalmen*, *CW* 36 (1922) 2 ff. *F. Heiler*, *Das Gebet*. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. 3rd Edit., München, 1920. 4th Edit., 1921. *J. Hempel*, *Gebet und Frömmigkeit im Alten Testament*. Göttingen, 1922. *O. Ljunggren*, *Bönen i Gamla Testamentet*. Lund, 1914. [Prayer during the pre-exilic period, before and after the prophetic movement: invocation, petition, subject matter, motivation, forms, concomitant circumstances, Hebrew terminology.] *J. L. Palache*, *Über das Weinen in der jüdischen Religion*. *ZDMG* 70 (1916) 251-56. [Chiefly talmudic references to ritual weeping.] *A. Scheverpflug*, *Das Gebet im Alten Testament*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Heidelberg, 1923. *E. Stave*, *De gammaltestamentliga texterna för årets första bönedag*. *BF* 32 (1915) 47-55. [The O.T. texts for the first prayer-day of the year: *Is.* 5, 8-24; 22, 1-14.] *E. Stave*, *Till aftonsångstexten på andra Böndagen*. *BF* 32 (1915) 210-12. [On the evening song's text on the second prayer day: *Jer.* 31, 31-34.]

(f) *Priests, sanctuaries, and sacred objects*

(1) The priests. *G. R. Berry*, Priests and Levites. *JBL* 42 (1923) 227-38. [The Chronicler erroneously regarded Aaronites as a more inclusive designation than Zadokites. Ez. 44, 10-14; 48, 11 refer to the priests of the Samaritan temple.] *H. Grimme*, Der südarabische Levitismus und sein Verhältnis zum Levitismus in Israel. *Muséon* 37 (1924) 167-99. *M. Kegel*, Zur Geschichte des israelitischen Priestertums. *NKZ* 33 (1922) 642-70.

(2) Sanctuaries and altars. *K. Galling*, Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients. Eine archäologische Studie. Berlin, 1925. [At first the blood of the victim was sprinkled on the stone pillar, later an altar was provided to receive the meat. Four stone pillars at the corners of the altar used for burnt offerings were erroneously called "horns."] *J. de Groot*, Die Altäre des salomonischen Tempelhofes. Eine archäologische Untersuchung. (BWAT n.s. vi.) Stuttgart, 1924. [There were two altars in the temple of Solomon: a small brazen one in front of the entrance and a large one in the middle of the forecourt.] *A. Schwarz*, Die Schatzkammer des Tempels in Jerusalem. *MGWJ* 63, n.s. 27 (1919) 227-52. [The sources of income of the Temple, the officials of its treasury, and the location of the treasury according to Josephus and the Talmud.]

(3) Sacred objects. *H. C. Ackerman*, The two Tables of Stone. *ATR* 4 (1921-22) 67-9. *J. Haase*, Der siebenärmige Leuchter des Alten Bundes, seine Geschichte und Symbolik. München, 1922. *G. Hoffmann*, Teraphim. Masken und Winkorakel in Ägypten und Vorderasien. *ZAW* 40 (1922) 75-137. (Edited by *H. Gressmann*.) [Moses and the prophets wore masks. The Teraphim were human images that gave oracular responses by winking; the Ephod was a statue with a pocket containing lots.] *J. E. Hogg*, A Note on two points of Aaron's Headdress. *JTS* 26 (1924) 72-5. [Cf. *F. C. Burkitt* 26 (1925) 180.] *B. Kohlbach*, Das Widderhorn (Schôfar). *Zeitschr. f. Volksk Kunde* 1916, 113-28.

(4) The priestly oracle. Ephod and ark. *W. R. Arnold*, Ephod and Ark. A Study in the Records and Religion of the

Ancient Hebrews. (Harvard Theological Studies, iii.) Cambridge, U. S. A., 1917. [The ark was a box containing lots (probably called "teraphim") by means of which the priest gave oracular responses. The ephod was a linen apron: wherever the word indicates a solid object, we should read "arôn" (ark) in its stead.] *K. Budde*, Ephod und Lade. ZAW 39 (1921) 1-42. [The ephod (not the ark) is the instrument of divination by lots: the word is a surrogate for "abbîr" (a divine image in the form of a bull).] *J. Döllner*, Die Wahrsagerei im Alten Testament. (BZF x, 11-12.) Münster, 1923. *L. Dürr*, Ursprung und Bedeutung der Bundeslade. BZTS 1 (1924) 17-32. [The ark was originally a container for the tables of the law, later it was conceived as a throne.] *E. Grant*, Oracle in the Old Testament. AJSL 39 (1923) 257-81. [The prophet is an interpreter of omens.] *H. Gressmann*, Die Lade Jahwes und das Allerheiligste des salomonischen Tempels. (BWAT, n.s. i.) Stuttgart, 1920. *H. Grimme*, Ephodentscheid und Prophetenrede. (Hommel Festschr. ii, 316-27.) *R. Hartmann*, Zelt und Lade. ZWA 37 (1917/18) 209-44. [The ark is the coffin of Joseph (*Völter*) similar to the coffin of Osiris which was surmounted by Isis and Nephthys.] *A. Jirku*, Mantik in Altisrael. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Rostock, 1914. *F. Küchler*, Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Judah. (Baudissin Festschr.) [A discussion of the ephod, urim and thummim, teraphim, rhabdomancy, etc.] *P. G. Orfali*, De Arca Foederis dissertatio archaeologico-historica Veteris Testamenti, delineationibus ornata. Paris, 1918. [Parallels to the ark among ancient nations (cf. *O. Weber*, Altorientalische Kultgeräte. Baudissin Festschr.).] *W. Reimpell*, Der Ursprung der Lade Jahwes. OLZ 19 (1916) 326-31. [The ark made by Moses was a wooden reproduction of a step, like those cut in the rock at Petra and in Asia Minor.] *H. Torczyner*, Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels. (HWJ Festschr.) Berlin, 1922. (Cf. ZAW 39 (1921) 296 f.) [The ark was a movable throne containing the tables of the Law.]

5. PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS

(a) *General works*

G. C. Aalders, *De Profeten des Ouden Verbonds*. Kampen, 1919. [Opposed to literary criticism.] *H. C. Ackerman*, *The Nature of Hebrew Prophecy*. *ATR* 4 (1921-22) 97-127.

E. Bass, *Die Merkmale der israelitischen Propheten nach der traditionellen Auffassung des Talmuds*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Berlin, 1917. *M. Buttenwieser*, *The Prophets of Israel from the 8th to the 5th Century: their Faith and their Message*. New York, 1914. [Jer., Am., Hos., Is., Mic.] *W. Caspari*, *Die israelitischen Propheten*. Leipzig, 1914. [Complicated theories are preferred to obvious explanations.] *A. Condamin*, *Prophétisme israélite*. (Diction. Apolog. de la Foi Cathol. iv, 386-425.) Paris, 1924. *C. H. Cornill*, *Der israelitische Prophetismus*. 11th-12th Edit. Strassburg, 1916. *Der jüdische Prophetismus*. 13th Edit. Berlin, 1920. *I profeti d'Israele*. (Transl. by D. Lattes and M. Beilinson.) Bari, 1923. *W. Cossmann*, *Die Entwicklung des Gerichtsgedanken bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten*. (BZAW xxix.) Giessen, 1915. [A chronological series of prophetic utterances on judgement and an analysis of the idea of judgement.] *B. Duhm*, *Israels Propheten*. (Lebensfragen xxvi.) Tübingen, 1916. 2nd Edit., 1922. *W. J. Farley*, *The Progress of Prophecy. A Study of Prophecy in its historical Development*. London, 1925. *H. T. Fowler*, *Aeschylus and the Eighth Century Prophets*. *BW* 46 (1915) 134-45. *H. Gunkel*, *Die Propheten. Die geheimen Erfahrungen der Propheten. Die Politik der Propheten. Die Religion der Propheten. Schriftstellerei und Formensprache der Propheten*. Göttingen, 1917. (Norwegian Transl. by S. Mowinckel.) *G. Hölscher*, *Die Propheten*. Leipzig, 1914. [The most comprehensive work on the subject.] *A. C. Knudson*, *The Beacon Lights of Prophecy*. New York, 1914. *F. Niebergall*, *Die Propheten*. Göttingen, 1915. *T. H. Robinson*, *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*. (With a Bibliography by S. A. Peake.) London, 1923. *E. Sachsse*, *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments und ihre Gegner*. (ZSF xiii, 4.) Berlin-Lichterfelde, 1919. [The false prophets are worshippers of Baal.] *J. M. P. Smith*, *The Prophet*

and his Problems. New York, 1914. The Prophets and their Times. Chicago, 1925. *E. Tobac*, Les Prophètes d'Israël. I. Lierre, 1919. II. III. Malines, 1921. *H. M. Wiener*, The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism. London, 1923.

(b) *Individual prophets*

(1) Elijah and Elisha. *H. Gunkel*, Meisterwerke hebräischer Erzählungskunst. I. Geschichten von Elisa erklärt. Berlin, 1922. *G. Margoliouth*, Elijah on Mount Horeb. Exp 15 (1918) 139-57. [The manifestation of the Deity in a sound of gentle stillness represents an advance over the traditions about the revelations to Moses.] *A. Šanda*, Elias und die religiösen Verhältnisse seiner Zeit. (BZF vii, 1-2.) Münster, 1914.

(2) Amos. *L. Desnoyers*, Le prophète Amos. RB 26 (1917) 218-46. *P. Humbert*, Un héraut de la justice. RTP n.s. 5 (1917) 5-35. *L. Köhler*, Amos, der älteste Schriftprophet. Zürich, 1920. *W. F. Lofthouse*, The Call of Amos. Exp 24 (1922) 45-51. *H. Schmidt*, Der Prophet Amos. (Lectures) Tübingen, 1917. Die Herkunft des Propheten Amos. (Budde Festschr.) [Amos was a North-Israelite.]

(3) Hosea. *G. C. Aalders*, Het huwelijk van Hosea. GTT 16 (1915) 21-33. *W. E. Barnes*, The Prophet of God's Love Hosea. Exp 9 (1915) 97-108. [Hos. 11 illustrates the fatherhood of God through four historical events.] *K. Budde*, Der Abschnitt Hosea 1-3 und seine grundlegende religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung. TSK 96/97 (1925) 1-89. [Hos. 1 and 3 are actual history. The woman in ch. 3 is Gomer. The story of his tragedy is a sort of spiritual testament.] *W. Caspari*, War der Prophet Hosea eine geschichtliche Person? TSK 89 (1916) 376-81. [In opposition to *F. Peiser*, Hosea. (Berlin, 1914), Caspari maintains the historicity of Hos. 1.] *P. Cruveilhier*, De l'interprétation historique des événements de la vie familiale du prophète Osée (I-III). RB 25 (1916) 342-62. [A defence of the reality of the domestic difficulties of Hosea.] *L. Desnoyers*, Le prophète Osée. BLE March, Apr., 1917. *F. Dijkema*, De Profeet Hozea. NTT 14 (1925) 324-42. [The nomadic and theocratic ideals of Hosea.] *J. Fück*, Hosea

Kapitel 3. ZAW 39 (1921) 283-90. [Hos. 3 is the narrative of a symbolical action of Hosea that has no connection with the events in Hos. 1. Hosea did not doubt the legitimacy of his children.] *P. Haupt*, Hosea's erring Spouse. JBL 34 (1915) 41-53. [Hos. 3 is not genuine. Gomer bath Diblajim means: consummata (in fornicatione atque perfecta) filia voluptatis.] *A. Herrmann*, Ehe und Kinder des Propheten Hosea. Eine exegetische Studie zu Hos. 1, 2-9. ZAW 40 (1922) 287-312. [Gomer was not adulterous.] *P. Humbert*, Les trois premiers chapitres d'Osée. RHR 1918, 1-15. Osée le prophète Bedouin. RHPR 1 (1921) 97-118. [Hosea married Gomer and had three children; the rest is allegorical.] *N. Peters*, Osee und die Geschichte. Paderborn, 1924. [Hosea proclaims the religion of Moses.] *G. Sanrock*, Die Ehe Hoseas. Kirchl. Zeit. 1914, 545-56. *O. R. Sellers*, Hosea's Motives. AJSL 41 (1925) 243-7. [His unconscious motives are: love, martyr motive, sadism, exhibitionism, hunger motive.] *E. Sellin*, Die geschichtliche Orientierung der Prophetie des Hosea. NKZ 36 (1925) 607-58. [The roots of Hosea's message are his conception of Yahweh as a god of intense love and his ideas concerning the early history of the nation.]

(4) Isaiah. *J. Boehmer*, Der Glaube und Jesaja. Zu Jes. 7, 9 und 28, 16. ZAW 41 (1923) 84-93. [The conception of faith found in Is. 7, 9 and 28, 16, dates from the 3rd Cent. B.C.] *A. Gampert*, La foi d'Esaïe. RTP n.s. 10 (1922) 263-91. [The visions of the future in chs. 2; 9; 11 were written by Is. shortly before 701.]

(5) Jeremiah. *E. Bruston*, Le prophète Jérémie et la prédiction de la nouvelle alliance. RTQR 23, 1-31. *W. Caspari*, Jeremja als Redner und als Selbstbeobachter. NKZ 26 (1915) 777-88; 842-63. [Chiefly a criticism of Hölscher's views.] *L. Gautier*, Le prophète Jérémie. Etude d'un caractère. Lausanne, 1916. *J. Hempel*, God and the World in the religious Faith of Jeremiah. JR 1 (1924) 32-45. *F. C. Jean*, l'originalité de Jérémie. RSPT 8 (1914-19) 423-38. *A. P. Kelso*, The religious Consciousness of Jeremiah. AJSL 41 (1925) 233-42. [The peculiar religious experiences of Jer. elevated his conception of God to a clearcut monotheism.] *W. F. Lofthouse*, Jere-

miah and the New Covenant. London, 1925. *T. J. Meek*, Was Jeremiah a Priest? Exp 25 (1923) 215-22. [Jeremiah did not belong to a priestly family of Anathoth.] *P. Riessler*, Der Prophet Jeremias. (BZF vii, 5.) Münster, 1914. *J. Skinner*, Prophecy and Religion. Studies in the Life of Jeremiah. Cambridge, 1922. [The most thorough book on Jeremiah. The prophet's most noteworthy contribution to the development of religion is Jer. 31, 31 ff.] *G. A. Smith*, Jeremiah: The Book, the Man, and the Prophet. (The Baird Lectures.) London, 1923. *P. Volz*, Der Prophet Jeremia. Tübingen, 1918. 2nd Edit., 1921.

(6) Nahum. *U. Cassuto*, Questioncelle bibliche: la patria del profeta Nahum. GSAI 26 (1914) 291-302. [Elkosh is Umm-Lagish.]

(7) Ezekiel. *P. Herzog*, Die ethischen Anschauungen des Propheten Ezechiels. (AA ix, 2-3.) Münster, 1923. [Ezekiel's interest in ritual matters does not represent a reduction of the ethical contents of religion.] *W. F. Lofthouse*, The Prophet of Reconstruction: A patriot's Ideal for a New Age. London, 1920. *E. Stave*, Var profeten Hesekiel icke Kataleptiker? St. Buhl. [Ezekiel was an epileptic.]

(8) Zechariah. *A. Rösler*, Prophetenbilder: 3. Zacharias. TPQ 49, 467-80.

(9) Joel. *A. Gierke*, Joel. Lehre und Wehre 66 (1920) 241-52; 316-21. *A. C. Welch*, Joel and the Post-exilic Community. Exp 20 (1920) 161-80. [An intense ethical and religious fervour underlies the message of Joel.]

(c) *The psychology of prophecy*

A. Causse, Quelques remarques sur la psychologie des prophètes. RHPR 2 (1922) 349-56. [Ecstasy, with its concomitant phenomena such as hysteria, hallucination, hypnosis, and the like, is not at the center of the religious life of the prophets.] *H. Gunkel*, The secret Experiences of the Prophets. Exp 9th ser., 1 (1924) 356-66; 427-35; 2 (1924) 23-32. *J. Hänel*, Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten. (BWAT n.s., 4.) Berlin, 1923. [Sources of knowledge of the prophets: 1. Visions

and other hallucinations (Ez., Dan.); "inner" seeing or hearing (the other prophets). 2. Direct revelations, gifts of the spirit (no "unio mystica"). 3. Meditation, faith, and experiences of life.] *H. W. Herzberg*, Prophet und Gott. Eine Studie zur Religiosität des vorexilischen Prophetentums. (BFCT xxviii, 3.) Gütersloh, 1923. [A study of the origin of religious individualism.] *H. W. Hines*, The Prophet as a mystic. *AJSL* 40 (1923) 37-71. [Ezekiel can best be understood through the psychology of mysticism.] *L. P. Horst*, L'extase chez les prophètes d'Israël d'après les travaux de Hölscher et Gunkel. *RHPR* 2 (1922) 337-48. *W. Jakobi*, Die Ekstase des alttestamentlichen Propheten. München, 1920. *D. Klein Wassink*, Persoonlijke religie in Israel (top op Jeremia). (Doctoral Dissertation.) Groningen, 1918. [A study of personal religion down to Jeremiah.] *L. Köhler*, Die Offenbahrungsformel "Fürchte dich nicht!" im Alten Testament. *STZ* 36 (1919) 33-9. [The formula "Fear not!" represents an actual psychological experience.] *W. L. Lofthouse*, "Thus hath Jahveh said." *AJSL* 40 (1924) 231-51. [In the case of Jeremiah it is clear that the prophetic oracle did not consist of words spoken in a trance or written in a condition of automatism.] *E. Moering*, Theophanien und Träume in der biblischen Literatur. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Heidelberg, 1914. *T. H. Robinson*, The Ecstatic Element in Old Testament Prophecy. *Exp.* 21 (1921) 217-38. [The great prophets were ecstasies like the earlier "sons of the prophets" and possessed second sight like the seers.] *H. W. Robinson*, The Psychology and Metaphysic of "Thus saith Yahweh." *ZAW* 41 (1923) 1-15. [A study of the psychological mechanism of prophetic inspiration and of its metaphysical implications.] *B. Synave*, La causalité de l'intelligence humaine dans la révélation prophétique. *RSPT* 8, 218-35. *J. Szeruda*, Das Wort Jahwes. (Doctoral Dissertation, Basel.) Lodz, 1921. *D. E. Thomas*, The psychological Approach to Prophecy. *AJT* 18 (1914) 241-56. [The genetic study of the experiences of a prophet should include: a study of the antecedents, of the environment, of the temperament, and of the events of the life of that prophet.] *S. A. Tooley*, Psychic Phenomena in the Old

Testament. London, 1922. *E. Troelsch*, Das Ethos der hebräischen Propheten. Logos 6, 1-28. *M. D. R. Willink*, The prophetic Consciousness. London, 1924.

(d) *The statesmanship of the prophets*

W. Caspari, Alttestamentliche Propheten als Sachverwalter und als Keilschriftverständiger. NKZ 25 (1914) 287-99. *P. Leander*, Profeten Jesjas utrikespolitik. BF 36 (1919) 132-41. [A lecture on Isaiah's international policies.] *A. C. Welch*, The Prophets and the World Order. Exp 18 (1919) 81-99. [The attitude of Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah when confronted by the apparent triumph of brute force in the world.] *G. P. Wetter*, Den historiska situationens betydelse för den progetiska förkunelsen. BF 31 (1914) 54-70. [A study of the significance of the historical situation for the prophetic message.]

6. HEBREW WISDOM

(a) *Babylonian and Egyptian parallels to the wisdom literature of the Old Testament*

(1) Babylonian wisdom. *P. Dhorme*, Ecclesiaste ou Job? RB 32 (1923) 5-27. [A discussion of *E. Ebeling*, Ein Babylonischer Qohelet. (Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung, I.) Berlin, 1922.] *S. Langdon*, Babylonian Wisdom. London, 1923. A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom. PSBA 38 (1916) 105-16; 131-7. *A. Ungnad*, Zur akkadischen Weisheitsliteratur. OLZ 23 (1920) 249-50.

(2) Egyptian wisdom. *E. A. W. Budge*, Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series. London, 1923. The Teachings of Amen-em-apt. London, 1924. *A. Erman*, Das Weisheitsbuch des Amen-em-ope. OLZ 27 (1924) 241-52. Eine ägyptische Quelle der "Sprüche Salomos." Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1. Mai 1924.) 15 (1924) 86-93. Berlin, 1924. *H. Gressmann*, Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels. ZAW 42 (1924) 272-96. *H. Grimme*, Weiteres zu Amen-em-ope und Proverbien. OLZ 28 (1925) 57-62. [Emendations to Prov. 22, 17-23, 11, based in part on a comparison with the

Maxims of Amen-em-ope.] *B. Gunn*, The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt. *JEA* 3 (1916) 81-94. [Egyptian hymns and prayers from about 1350-1200 B.C., expressing helplessness and contrition, compared to some Psalms.] *G. Jéquier*, La pratique de la charité chez les anciens Egyptiens. *RTP* n.s. 8 (1920) 91-2. [Egyptian influence on Pentateuchal Codes.] *G. Lefebvre*, Egyptiens et Hébreux. *RB* 31 (1922) 481-88. [The Maxims of Petosiris (end of the 4th cent.) are compared with Ps., Prov., Eccl.]

(b) *The wisdom of the Old Testament*

A. Causse, Introduction à l'étude de la Sagesse juive. *RHPR* 1 (1921) 45-60. *E. König*, Zur Weisheitslehre des Alten Testaments. *NKZ* 27, 325-42. *H. Gressmann*, Die Spruchweisheit Israels im Zusammenhang der Weltliteratur. (Kunst und Altertum, vi.) Berlin, 1925. *K. Heim*, Die Weltanschauung der Bibel. (Vorträge zur Einführung in die Bibel, ii.) Leipzig, 1920. 4th Edit., 1924. *M. Munk*, Einführung in die Philosophie der Bibel. Kattowitz, 1922. *D. Neumark*, The Philosophy of the Bible. Cincinnati, 1918.

(c) *The personification of wisdom*

W. F. Albright, The supposed Babylonian Derivation of the Logos. *JBL* 39 (1920) 143-51. [A refutation of S. Langdon's attempt to trace back Hellenistic hypostatized reason to a Babylonian origin.] *F. M. T. Böhl*, Mummu = Logos? *OLZ* 19 (1916) 265-8. [The hypostatization of the Logos began in Babylonia.] *G. H. Dix*, The Heavenly Wisdom and the Divine Logos in Jewish Apocalyptic: a Study of the Vision of the Woman and the Man-Child in Revelation xii, 1-5. 13-17. *JTS* 26 (1924) 1-12. [The Similitudes of I Enoch contain a document that apparently taught that the Divine Wisdom was the mother of the Logos.] *J. Götsberger*, Die Göttliche Weisheit als Persönlichkeit im Alten Testamente. (BZF ix, 1-2.) Münster, 1919. *P. Heinisch*, Die Persönliche Weisheit des Alten Testaments in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. (Nikel Festschr.) (BZF xi, 1-2.) Münster, 1923. [Admits, in principle, the influence of Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia on the personification

of wisdom in the O.T.] *P. Heinisch*, Das "Wort" im Alten Testament. (BZF x, 7-8.) Münster, 1923. *G. F. Moore*, Intermediaries in Jewish Theology. Memra, Shekinah, Metatron. HTR 15 (1922) 41-85. *A. Vaccari*, Il concetto della Sapienza nell' Antico Testamento. Gregorianum 1 (1920) 218-51.

(d) *The problem of evil in the Old Testament*

E. Balla, Das Problem des Leides in des israelitisch-jüdischen Religion. Gunkel Festschr. i, 214-60. [See HTR 17 (1924) 300-1.] *J. Y. Batley*, The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament. London, 1916. *L. W. Batten*, Good and Evil. A study in Biblical Theology. New York, 1918. *W. Caspari*, Weltordnung und unverdiente Not nach dem Alten Testament (Theodizee.) (ZSF xii, 7-8.) Berlin, 1918. *P. Humbert*, L'Ancien Testament et le problème de la souffrance. Lausanne, 1917. [Cf. BW 52 (1918) 115-35.] *J. Köberle*, Das Rätsel des Leidens. Eine Einführung in das Buch Hiob. (ZSF i, 1.) 2nd Edit. Berlin-Lichterfelde, 1914. *R. H. Pfeiffer*, Le problème du livre de Job. (Dissertation.) Geneva, 1915. [On the problem of theodicy in the O.T. and particularly in Job.] *N. Peters*, Die Leidensfrage im Alten Testament. (Nikel Festschr.) (BZF xi, 3-5.) Münster, 1923. *F. Torm*, Das stellvertretende Leiden im Judentum und im Christentum. (Institutum Judaicum, No. 45.) Leipzig, 1915.

(e) *Ethics and psychology*

(1) Moral ideas. *S. Bernfeld*, Die Lehren des Judentums. I. Die Grundlagen der jüdischen Ethik. Berlin, 1920. *A. Eberharter*, Sünde und Busse im Alten Testament. (Nikel Festschr.) (BZF xi, 10-12.) Münster, 1924. *A. Hudal*, Die religiösen und sittlichen Ideen des Spruchbuches. Rome, 1914. [The idea of God, wisdom, ethics, and eschatology in Prov. The book is considered pre-exilic.] *H. A. Kent*, The Forgiveness of Sins in the Old Testament. Exp 21 (1921) 365-86. *S. A. B. Mercer*, Morals of Israel. ATR 1 (1918/19) 24-41; 288-303; 2 (1919/20) 126-40; 3 (1920/21) 211-27. The Destiny of the Righteous in Israel. ATR 4 (1921/22) 185-91. *C. G. Montefiore*, The Old

Testament and its ethical Teaching. HJ 16 (1918) 234-50. *A. S. Peake*, Brotherhood in the Old Testament. (John Clifford Lectures, 1923.) London, 1923. *J. M. P. Smith*, The Moral Life of the Hebrews. Chicago, 1923. *J. Ziegler*, Die sittliche Welt des Judentums. I. Die sittliche Welt der Heiligen Schriften. Leipzig, 1924. [No clear distinction between ethics and religion.]

(2) Internationalism and missions. *A. Causse*, Israël et la vision de l'humanité. (Etudes . . . publiées par la Faculté de Théol. Protest. de l'Univ. de Strasbourg, viii.) Strasbourg, 1924. [A history of the conflict between nationalistic and universalistic currents in Judaism.] *A. Causse*, La vision de l'humanité dans la prophétie deutéro-ésaïaque. RHPR 2 (1922) 465-98. [In the doctrine of the Servant of the Lord a missionary program is formulated.] *F. Feldmann*, Die Bekehrung der Heiden im Buche Isaias. Aschen, 1919. *J. Hehn*, Nationalismus und Universalismus, Kollektivismus und Individualismus in der israelitischen Religion. BZTS 2 (1925) 213-32. *P. Heinisch*, Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung im Alten Testament. (BZF viii, 1-2.) Münster, 1916. [The religion of Israel was universalistic since the time of Moses.] *E. Sellin*, Der Missionsgedanke im Alten Testament. Neue Allg. Missionszeitschrift 2 (1925) 33-45; 66-72. [Jonah and Is. 66, 19 indicate that missionary work was regarded as a duty during the Persian period.] *W. Stärk*, Ursprung und Grenzen des Missionskraft der alttestamentlichen Religion. TB 4 (1925) 25-37. [The germs of the missionary spirit are found in the revelation to Moses.] *J. Warneck*, Der Kampf mit dem Heidentum im Alten Bunde. Allg. Missionszeitschrift 43, 433-43; 481-90. *J. D. N. White*, The Missionary Spirit of the Old Testament. Exp 19 (1920) 140-8.

(3) Psychology. *O. Chambers*, Biblical Psychology. London, 1920. *W. von Hauff*, Sexualpsychologisches im Alten Testament. (Arbeiten aus dem sexualpsychologischen Seminar von Prof. W. Liepmann, i, 1.) Bonn, 1924. [A study of the relation between religion and sexual life in O.T.] *J. Hehn*, Zum Problem des Geistes im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. ZAW 43 (1925) 210-25. [In Egypt, in Babylonia, and in the

O.T., the breath and the word of the deity are the source of all life]. *J. Leydesdorff*, *Bijdrage tot de speciale psychologie van het joodsche Volk.* (Doctoral Dissertation.) Groningen, 1919. *H. W. Robinson*, *Hebrew Psychology.* (Peake, People and Book, 353-82.)

7. ESCHATOLOGY

(a) *National hopes*

(1) The Messianic prophecies of the O.T. *L. H. K. Bleeker*, *Over inhoud en oorsprong van Israëls heilverwachting.* Groningen, 1921. ["Popular eschatology" expected Yahweh to become king of the earth.] *J. Döller*, *Die Messiaserwartung im Alten Testament.* (BZF iv, 6-7.) 3rd Edit. Münster, 1921. *H. H. Gowen*, *The Eschatology of the Old Testament.* ATR 2 (1919/20) 195-208. *J. A. Huffmann*, *The Progressive Unfolding of the Messianic Hope.* New York, 1924. *E. König*, *Die Messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments vergleichend, geschichtlich und exegetisch behandelt.* Stuttgart, 1923. New Edit., 1925. [A full treatment from a conservative point of view.] *J. Lindblom*, *Guds Rike. En biblisk studie.* Stockholm, 1919. *H. R. Mackintosh*, *Eschatology in the Old Testament and in Judaism.* Exp 10 (1915) 47-65. [The national and the individual aspects of eschatology.] *N. Messel*, *Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie.* (BZAW 30.) Giessen, 1915. [A criticism of Bousset's theory of a double Jewish eschatology, earthly-national and heavenly-supernatural. The latter is Christian-Hellenistic.] *C. Piepenbring*, *Le messianisme juif.* RTP n.s 2 (1914) 366-85. *B. B. Warfield*, *The Divine Messiah in the Old Testament.* PTR 1916, 396-416. *W. Watson*, *The human and superhuman Messiah.* Exp 13 (1917) 63-80. [The human Messiah is said to be a descendant of David (or of Judah, Levi, Aaron, etc.), the divine Messiah is an angelic being.]

(2) Gentile hopes and their influence on the O.T. *S. J. Case*, *Gentile Forms of Millennial Hope.* BW 50 (1917) 67-85. [Millennial expectations in Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome.] *H. Gressmann*, *Messias und Erlöser.* Geisteskultur 33 (1924) 96-116. [The figure of the Egyptian ideal king became the Semitic Messiah, then the Hellenistic Savior.]

Babylonia and Egypt. *G. D. Dix*, The Influence of Babylonia on Jewish Messianism. *JTS* 26 (1925) 241-56. [The Babylonian myths of the Heavenly Mother and her Divine Son influenced the views on the virgin mother (Is.), on the mother of the Peace-Bringer (Mic.), on the "one like unto a son of man" (Dan.), and on the suffering Servant (Is. 53).] *H. Gressmann*, Der Messiasglaube in der Geschichte der Völker. *Deutsche Rundschau* 159 (1914) 396-415. [The Messianic hope originated in Egypt.] *C. C. McCown*, Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature. *HTR* 18 (1925) 357-411. [The O.T. prophetic literature was influenced by Egyptian ideas.]

Hellenistic Mysteries. *E. J. Price*, Jewish Apocalyptic and the Mysteries. *HJ* 18 (1919) 95-112. *R. Kittel*, Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament. *ZDMG* 78 (1924) 88-101. (A lecture.) In book form: *BWAT* n.s. vii. Stuttgart, 1924. [Is. used unconsciously the myth Horus-Osiris-Immanuel-Helios-Aiôn. For a criticism of this view see, e.g., *C. Clemen*, *ZMRW* 40 (1925) 162-84; *I. Heinemann*, *MGWJ* 69 (1925) 337-55; *J. A. Bewer*, *JBL* 45 (1926) 1-13.]

(3) Emperor worship in the O.T. *A. H. Godbey*, Ariel or David-Cultus. *AJSL* 41 (1925) 253-66. ["The masses extended cultus honors to David in his lifetime" (in all probability) and expected David's intervention in battle at the head of a spirit-host.] *C. Lattey*, Ruler-Worship in the Bible. *ITQ* 14 (1919) 238-57. *H. Schmidt*, Der Mythos vom wiederkehrenden König im Alten Testament. (Lecture.) (Schriften d. hessischen Hochschulen, Univ. Giessen, 1.) Giessen, 1925. [As in the case of Nero, Alexander, Charlemagne, Frederick II, Barbarossa, etc., the Messiah of the O.T. is a revived David or mythical paradise-king.] *J. M. P. Smith*, Traces of Emperor Worship in the Old Testament. *AJSL* 39 (1922) 32-9. [The Messiah is the deified king coming back to earth.]

(4) The origin of O.T. eschatology. *W. Caspari*, Die Anfänge der alttestamentlichen Weissagung. *NKZ* 31 (1920) 455-81. [On the basis of "Shiloh" in Gen. 49, 10 (which is considered a Hittite word) the Messianic hope is dated in pre-Davidic times.] *L. Dürr*, Ursprung und Aufbau der israelitisch-

jüdischen Heilandserwartung. Berlin, 1925. [The conception of an ideal king among the ancient Israelites is not of foreign origin.] *G. Hölscher*, *Die Ursprünge der jüdischen Eschatologie*. (Vortr. d. Theol. Konferenz zu Giessen, 41.) Giessen, 1925. [Eschatology begins with Second Isaiah, not with "the Day of the Lord" in Amos.] *S. Mowinckel*, *Psalmenstudien*, ii. *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*. (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II. Hist-Filos. Klasse, 6.) Kristiania, 1921. [The Israelites celebrated the festival of the enthronement of Yahweh (cf. the Babylonian New-Year festival); eschatology developed out of this celebration. Cf. *S. Michelet*, *St. Buhl*; *A. J. Wensinck*, *The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology*. *Acta Orientalia* i, 158-99; *A. Causse*, *Le jour de Yahvé et la fête de l'avènement de Yahvé*. *RHPR* 3 (1923) 262-8.] *A. S. Peake*, *The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic*. *HR n.s.* 15 (1924) 62-76; 203-13. (Reprinted from: *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, Jan. 1923.) [We cannot assert the derivation of prophetic eschatology from Egypt.] *N. Schmidt*, *The Origin of Jewish Eschatology*. *JBL* 41 (1922) 102-14. [Eschatology developed in Israel out of the conception of the "Day of the Lord" (Amos).]

(5) The later stages of O.T. eschatology. *W. R. Aytoun*, *The Rise and Fall of the "Messianic" Hope in the Sixth Century*. *JBL* 39 (1920) 24-43. [The expectation of the coming of a personal Messiah is not earlier than the Exile.] *E. Balla*, *Der Erlösungsgedanke in der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion*. *Ἀγγελος* 1 (1925) 71-83. *W. Caspari*, *Beweggründe der Erwählung nach dem Alten Testament*. *NZK* 32 (1921) 202-15. [The doctrine of election becomes prominent after the downfall of the nation.] *H. Dittmann*, *Der heilige Rest im Alten Testament*. *TSK* 87 (1914) 603-18. [The doctrine of the remnant is an original element of eschatology to which the prophets, by giving it a menacing (Am. 3, 12; 5, 3) as well as a hopeful (Am. 5, 15) connotation, conferred an ethical character.] *W. Eichrodt*, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im Alten Israel. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der israelitischen Eschatologie*. Gütersloh, 1920.

(6) The Servant of the Lord. *W. E. Barnes*, *The Servant of*

Jehovah (Isa. 52-53). Interpreter 13, 115-27. [The "Servant" is Israel.] *F. M. T. Böhl*, De "Knecht des Heeren" in Jezaja 53. Haarlem, 1923. [Somehow, the figure of the Suffering Servant must be connected with the Tammuz-Adonis cycle.] *E. Bruston*, La prophétie du Serviteur de l'Eternel dans le second Esaïe et l'idée de la redemption. RTQR 22, 494-529; cf. 464-7. *H. Chadwick*, The Servant of Yahweh. ITR 15 (1920) 330-42. *J. Fischer*, Wer ist der Ebed in den Perikopen Js. 42, 1-7; 49, 1-9a; 50, 40-49; 52, 13-53, 13. (AA viii, 5.) Münster, 1922. [The "Servant" is a future savior.] *H. Gunkel*, Ein Vorläufer Jesu. Bern, 1921. [The "Servant" is the prophet himself.] *M. Haller*, Die Kyroslieder bei Deuterocesaja. Gunkel Festschr. i, 261-77. [The author of the poems dealing with Cyrus probably suffered the fate of the "Servant." Cf. *E. Balla*, *ibid.* 245 ff.] *A. van Hoonacker*, The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl ff. Exp 11 (1916) 183-210. [The "Servant" is the Messiah: the fate of Jehoiachin probably gave rise to the idea of a suffering Messiah.] *E. König*, Der Leidensgedanke in den messianischen Weissagungen. Reformation 13 (1915) 146-8. *H. G. Mitchell*, The Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 40-55. JBL 38 (1919) 113-28. [In the original prophecy the "Servant" was Israel; later hands identified the "Servant" with an elect fraction of the people or with an unknown individual, distinguishing him from Israel.] *S. Mowinckel*, Der Knecht Jahwäs. Giessen, 1921. [The "Servant" is the Second Isaiah.] *W. Rudolph*, Der exilische Messias. Ein Beitrag zur Ebed-Jahwe Frage. ZAW 43 (1925) 90-114. [The "Servant" is a contemporary of the prophet.]

(7) The Son of Man. *J. M. Creed*, The Heavenly Man. JTS 26 (1925) 113-36. [In Dan. 7 the Son of Man represents the kingdom of the saints, in Enoch and 4 Esdr. he is the judge and redeemer.] *H. Holzinger*, Zur Menschensohnfrage. Budde Festschr. [The use of "Son of Man" in the Gospels is based on Ps. 80, 18.] *E. Kuhnert*, 'Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ZNW 1917/18, 165-76. *D. Volter*, Noch ein Wort über den Menschensohn. NTT 1915, 143-7. — Die Menschensohn-Frage neu untersucht. Leiden, 1916.

(b) *Individual survival after death*

(1) The conceptions of the hereafter in the O.T. *J. A. Beet*, *The Hereafter in the Bible and in Modern Thought*. HJ 12 (1913) 837-55. [The Jewish doctrine of immortality was developed after Judaism came into contact with Hellenism.] *A. Bertholet*, *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*. (SGV 16.) 2nd Edit. Tübingen, 1914. *W. O. E. Oosterley*, *Immortality and the Unseen World. A Study in Old Testament Religion*. London, 1921. [The prophetic ideas on future life were in contrast with those of the masses.] *G. Quell*, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel*. Leipzig, 1925. [Some regard the departed as Elohim, and bring them offerings at the family grave; others as Rephaim down in Sheol.] *H. W. Robinson*, *The Old Testament Approach to Life after Death*. *Congregational Quarterly* 3 (1925) 138-51. [Four views: the shadowy existence in Sheol, eternal life with God in a spiritual sense (Ps. 73), completion of a crushed life after death (Is. 53), the survival of individuality (a late view ultimately based on Jeremiah).] *J. Scheftelowitz*, *Der Seelen- und Unsterblichkeitsglaube im Alten Testament*. ARW 19 (1919) 210-32. *A. Schulz*, *Der Sinn des Todes im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentliche Theologie*. (Beilage z. Verzeichnis d. Vorlesungen an der Akad. z. Braunsberg.) Braunsberg, 1919. [A discussion of Gen. 3 and of the conception of death as a punishment.]

(2) The doctrine of resurrection. *A. Bertholet*, *The Pre-Christian Belief in the Resurrection of the Body*. AJT 20 (1916) 1-30. *Zur Frage des Verhältnisses von parsischem und jüdischem Auferstehungsglauben*. *Festschrift für F. C. Andreas*, 51-62. Leipzig, 1916. [Although the doctrine of resurrection is an indigenous development in Judaism, one should not exclude the influence of Parsism.] *E. Sellin*, *Die alttestamentliche Hoffnung auf Auferstehung und ewiges Leben*. NKZ 30 (1919) 232-89. [The idea of immortality is a genuinely Israelitic development, in spite of some possible Persian influence.]

8. POPULAR RELIGION

(a) *Folklore*

W. Baumgartner, *Jephtas Gelübde* (Jud. 11, 30-40). ARW 18 (1915) 240-9. [The folktale motive of the pledge of one's child in payment for supernatural help is widespread. The stories of Idomeneus (Servius, ad Aeneid. 3, 121) and Maiandros (Plutarch, *De Fluvii* ix) are probably connected with Judg. 11, 30 ff.] *J. G. Frazer*, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*. 3 vols. London, 1919. (Abridged edition: New York, 1923.) [Among the topics more fully treated are: the creation, the fall, the mark of Cain, the flood, Gen. 15, ultimogeniture, Jacob's marriages (with a digression on the *jus primae noctis*).] *P. Saintyves*, *Essais de folklore biblique: magie, mythes et miracles dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*. Paris, 1923. [The O. T. topics more fully treated are: fire falling from heaven and the renewal of sacred fire, the blossoming of Aaron's staff, and the water flowing out of the rock.]

(b) *Magic and divination*

L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*. 2nd Edit. Berlin, 1914. [A reprint of the first edition.] *W. S. Fox*, *Old Testament Parallels to "Tabellae Defixionum."* AJSL 30 (1914) 111-24. [Jer. 51, 60-64 has all the elements of the Greco-Roman defixiones (written curses against persons, usually unknown); Judg. 17, 1-2; Mal. 3, 8-9; Zech. 5, 2-4; Ez. 4, 1-3; 2 Ki. 13, 17-19, have some of their elements.] *J. de Groot*, *Israëlitische regenceremoniën*. TT 52 (1918) 38-51. [Ceremonies for bringing rain in 1 Sam. 12, 17; 1 Ki. 18, 20 ff.; Jer. 14, 12.] *P. Haupt*, *Crystal-gazing in the Old Testament*. JBL 36 (1917) 84-92. [Ez. 21, 26 refers to crystal-gazing. Hos. 4, 12a refers to divination from the rustling of the branches of a tree.] *J. Hempel*, *Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischen Parallelen*. ZDMG 79 (1925) 20-110. [Blessing and cursing are rooted in magical conceptions.] *A. Jirku*, *Materialen zur Volksreligion Israels*. Leipzig, 1914. [Staffs, salt, plants, milk and honey, as miracle

producing objects.] *A. Jirku*, Die magische Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel. Kiel, 1914. Zur magischen Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel. ZAW 37 (1917/18) 109–125. [Magical forces are housed in garments (the author fails to quote Mark 5, 26–34).] *S. Mowinckel*, Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmdichtung. (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II, Hist.-Filos. Kl. 1923, Nr. 3.) Kristiania, 1924. *S. Reinach*, Le souper chez la sorcière. RHR 88 (1923) 45–50. [A study of 1 Sam. 28. The consultation of a medium was accompanied by fasting, evocation of the dead, and a ritual meal.] *H. Reinfried*, Bräuche bei Zauber und Wunder nach Buchari. Ein Beitrag zur Altarabischen Religion. Karlsruhe, 1915. *T. R. Stebbing*, Thaumaturgy in the Bible. HJ Jan. 1920.

(c) *Angels and demons*

H. C. Ackerman, The Principle of Differentiation between "The Word of the Lord" and "The Angel of the Lord." AJSL 37 (1921) 145–9. [The difference is merely the subjectivity or objectivity of a divine revelation.] *A. H. Godbey*, Field-spirits in the Old Testament. AJSL 41 (1925) 280. [*Šēdah* is read in Lev. 17, 5 and in other passages, in the meaning of "field-spirit."] *J. Halévy*, Contributions à la démonologie judéo-babylonienne. RS 22 (1914) 210–3. *A. Jacoby*, Zur Erklärung der Kerube. ARW 22 (1923/24) 257–65. [The multitude of eyes (Ez. 1, 13 ff.; 10, 12) is connected with the starry heaven. *H. Gressmann* (OLZ 1918, 492) has not proved their connection with Phenician and Egyptian art.] *S. Landersdorfer*, Zur Lehre von den Schutzengeln im Alten Testament. Kath 21 (1918) 114–20. ["His Elohim" in Lev. 24, 15 means "his guardian angels." See also Gen. 48, 16; 32, 29; Eccl. 5, 5.] *G. van der Leeuw*, Zielen en Engelen. TT 53 (1919) 224–37. *A. Lods*, L'ange de Yahvé et l' "âme extérieure." (Wellhausen Festschr.) [The contradictory conceptions of the Angel of the Lord are explained through the theory of an external soul.] *S. Mowinckel*, Hiobs Go'el und Zeuge im Himmel. (Marti Festschr.) [Job's witness in heaven is not God, but his guardian angel.] *R. H. Pfeiffer*, Cherubim. JBL 41 (1922) 249–50. [The Cherubim of

the O. T. are the Assyrian *kirubi*.] *S. Prentice*, The Angels of God at Mahanaim. *JBL* 36 (1917) 151-7. [The "angels of God" in Gen. 32, 1 are probably storm clouds.]

(d) *Idolatry*

J. Geffken, Der Bilderstreit des heidnischen Altertums. *ARW* 19 (1919) 286-315. *E. König*, Image-worship and Idol-worship in the Old Testament. *Exp* 7 (1914) 289-98. [The golden calf was an image of Yahweh.] *S. Landersdorfer*, Der BAAA TETPA-MOPΦOΣ und die Kerube des Ezechiel. (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums ix, 3). Paderborn, 1918. [On the basis of the Syriac version the author asserts that the idol of Manasseh had four faces, imitating the image of Micah (Judg. 17-18).] *R. H. Pfeiffer*, The Polemic against Idolatry in the Old Testament. *JBL* 43 (1924) 229-40. [The texts denouncing idols are post-exilic.] *L. Waterman*, Bull-worship in Israel. *AJSL* 31 (1915) 229-55. [Bull-worship was a common practice in Canaan and among the Israelites.] *A. J. Wensinck*, The Second Commandment. (Meededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde. 59, Ser. A, No. 6, pp. 159-65). Amsterdam, 1925. [The law prohibited at first gold and silver images (Ex. 20, 23 [Hebr. 20, 20]; 34, 17), and finally the making of any images (Ex. 20, 4; Deut. 5, 8 ff.).]

(e) *Symbolism*

(1) Symbolical actions. *F. W. Buckler*, Two Instances of *khil'at* in the Bible. *JTS* 23 (1922) 197-9. [A gift of raiment of a king may symbolize a declaration of sovereignty (Arabic *khil'at*): the changes of raiment brought by Naaman (2 Ki. 5) may have carried this diplomatic implication; cf. also Matt. 22, 1-22.] *D. Buzy*, Les symboles de l'Ancien Testament. Paris, 1923. [Cf. *RB* 26-30 (1917-21).] *O. Eissfeldt*, Altorientalische Symbolik und antike Symbolik überhaupt. *ZMRW* 31, 117-24. *M. H. Farbridge*, Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism. London, 1923. [On the evidence of Ps. 11, 1 the author says that the Jews regarded the soul as a bird flying

around the body.] *A. H. Godbey*, The Hebrew *Mašal*. *AJSL* 39 (1923) 89–108. [The *mashal* is not only a verbal comparison, but also a pantomime.] *L. Levy*, Die Schuhsymbolik im jüdischem Ritus. *MGWJ* 62, 178–85. [On Deut. 25, 9; Ruth 4, 7.] *J. Nacht*, The Symbolism of the Shoe, with special Reference to Jewish Sources. *JQR* n.s. 6 (1915) 1–22. *H. Prinz*, Altorientalische Symbolik. Berlin, 1915. *A. Régnier*, Le réalisme dans les symboles des Prophètes. *RB* 32 (1923) 383–408. [Hos. 1 and 3; Zech. 6, 9–15 are symbolical and unreal.]

(2) Symbolical numbers. *O. Fischer*, Der Ursprung des Judentums im Lichte alttestamentlicher Zahlensymbolik. Leipzig, 1917. [A discussion of the numerical value (*gematria*) of O. T. proper names: Yahweh is 2×13 ; Adonay 5×13 ; male'ak (angel) 7×13 ; Isaac 16×13 ; Jacob 14×13 ; etc. Seven is the sacred number of the primeval period. Criticized by *E. König*, *ZAW* 40 (1922) 46–68.] *O. Fischer*, Orientalische und Griechische Zahlensymbolik. Ein Beitrag zu meinem System der alttestamentlichen Zahlenwerte. Leipzig, 1918. [Additional cabalistic calculations.] *J. Herrmann*, Ein Widerschein ägyptischen Totenglaubens in Jes. 9, 1. *OLZ* 19 (1916) 110–113. [42 is the number of death in the O. T., being the number of the underworld judges in the Egyptian Book of the Dead.] *E. Littmann*, Die heilige Zahl 40. *DLZ* 36, 221–24. *W. H. Roscher*, Die Zahl 40 in Mythos, Kultus, Epos und Tragik der Hellenen und anderer Völker, besonders der Semiten. (Abhandl. d. Phil.-Hist. Kl. d. Königl. Sächsischen Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. xxxv, v). Leipzig, 1917. *L. de Saussure*, La série septenaire, cosmologique et planétaire. *JA* 204 (1924) 333–70. *O. Weinreich*, Triskaidekadische Studien. Giessen, 1916.

(f) *Traditional practices*

S. Eitrem, Überschreiten und Ähnliches. *ARW* 18 (1915) 588–9. *J. Morgenstern*, Trial by Ordeal among the Semites and in Ancient Israel. *HUCJ* 113–43. [The ordeal in Num. 5, (cf. Ex. 32, 20, 35) has a magical, rather than a religious, origin.] *E. Merz*, Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten. (*BWAT* 20.) Leipzig, 1916. [The reaction against private blood-revenge be-

gins with the prophets.] *L. Köhler*, *Archäologisches*. ZAW 34 (1914) 146-9; 36 (1916) 21-8; 40 (1922) 15-46. (Continued 44 (1926) 56 ff.) [19 miscellaneous studies on such matters as the stripping of lascivious women; the use of human blood as a cosmetic; the magical power of blowing trumpets; Gen. 19, 26; 1 Ki. 21, 27; Hebrew idioms, etc.] *J. M. Price*, Swine in Old Testament Taboo. JBL 44 (1925) 154-7. [The reason for the Israelitic taboo is the sacredness of swine in early Palestine and elsewhere.] *K. Wigand*, Die altisraelitische Vorstellung von unreinen Tieren. ARW 17 (1914) 413-36. [A comparison of the O. T. dietary prohibitions with those of the Egyptians, Arabs, Babylonians, and Indo-Europeans.]

(g) *Mythology (particularly Indo-European)*

J. Bergmann, Judentum und Griechentum. JJGL 20, 41-69. Berlin, 1917. *A. Dieterich*, Die Mutter Erde. 2nd Edit. Leipzig, 1914. *J. Drobinsky*, Homer und die Bibel. (19. Jahresbericht des Kronprinz-Rudolf-Gymnasium in Friedek.) Friedek, 1914. *P. Ehrenreich*, Die Sonne im Mythos. (Published posthumously by E. Siecke.) Mythologische Bibliothek viii, 1. Leipzig, 1915. *R. Eisler*, Noch eine Steingeburtssage. ARW 18 (1915) 595. Mutter Erde bei den Juden. Ibid. 596-7. *P. Koch*, Die arischen Grundlagen der Bibel. Die Übereinstimmung der biblischen Sagen mit der Mythologie der Indogermanen. Berlin, 1914. *W. H. Roscher*, Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern, besonders den Semiten. (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wissensch. zu Leipzig, Philol.-Hist. Kl. lxx, 2). Leipzig, 1918. [The notion of the navel of the earth is discovered in the story of the Garden of Eden, in Is. 2, 2; 1 Chron. 29, 23, etc.] *A. J. Wensinck*, The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites. Amsterdam, 1918. The Idea of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth. (Verhandel. d. K. Akad. van Wetensch. te Amsterdam, Aft. Letterkunde, n.s. xvii, 1.) Amsterdam, 1917.

III. LITERATURE

1. GENERAL WORKS

(a) *Introductions to the literature of the O. T.*

J. H. Ahlstedt, Böckerna i Gamla Testamentet. Stockholm, 1916. *W. M. Barnes*, A Companion to the Biblical Studies. Cambridge, 1916. *L. W. Batten*, The Old Testament. The University of the South Press, Sewanee, 1917. *S. Bernfeld*, Die Jüdische Literatur. I: Bibel, Apocryphen und jüdisch-hellenistisches Schriftum. Berlin, 1921. [The conclusions reached are radical (e.g. in Is. only 1; 2, 6-4, 1; 5, 1-10, 4 are dated in the 8th cent.).] *J. A. Bewer*, The Literature of the Old Testament in its historical Development. New York, 1922. [A critical study of the O. T. in chronological arrangement.] *G. H. Box*, A short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. (Oxford Church Text Books.) 4th Edit. London, 1924. [A good summary.] *E. Comba* and *T. Longo*, Storia Letteraria della Bibbia. I. *T. Longo*, I libri storici dell'Antico Testamento. Torre Pellice, 1924. II. *E. Comba*, I libri profetici d'Israele. 1924. III. *E. Comba*, I libri poetici dell'Antico Testamento. I libri deuterocanonici o Apocri. Il Canone ed il Testo dell'Antico Testamento. 1924. [A presentation of the critical opinion of about 1900.] *H. Creelman*, An Introduction to the Old Testament chronologically arranged. New York, 1917. [A compilation in tabular form.] *S. R. Driver*, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. (International Theological Library.) New Edit. New York, 1914. [The standard presentation of the moderately critical views.] *F. C. Eiselen*, Biblical Introduction Series: I. The Books of the Pentateuch. New York, 1916. II. The Prophetic Books of the Old Testament. 2 Vols. New York, 1923. III. The Psalms and other Sacred Writings. New York, 1918. *P. Fargues*, Introduction à l'Ancien Testament. Paris, 1923. *L. Gautier*, Introduction à l'Ancien Testament. 2 vols. 2nd rev. Edit. Lausanne, 1914. [The best treatment in French.] *J. F. Genung*, A Guidebook to Biblical Literature. Boston, 1919. *L. Gramatica* and *G.*

Castoldi, Manuale della Bibbia. Milan, 1924. *C. P. Grannan*, A General Introduction to the Bible. 4 vols. St. Louis, 1921. *W. von Hauff*, Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments. Bielefeld, 1921. *H. P. Hansen*, Bibel-Haandbog til det Gamle Testament. Copenhagen, 1917. *H. Herkenne* and *K. Mas-sierer*, Biblisches Handbuch für höhere Lehranstalten. I. Bibelkunde und biblische Texte. Bonn, 1914. 2nd Edit., 1918. *W. Hess*, Die Bibel. Praktische Einführung in Inhalt und Verständnis der Heiligen Schrift für höhere Lehranstalten. 6th Edit. Tübingen, 1922. *K. Heussi*, Einleitung in die Bibel, I. Tübingen, 1916. *H. Höpfl*, Introductionis in utriusque Testamenti libros Compendium. I. Introductio generalis. Rome, 1922. II. Introductio specialis. Subiaco, 1921. *A. Hudal*, Einleitung in die Heiligen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Leipzig, 1920. *S. Leimbach*, Wegweiser in die Heilige Schrift. 2nd Edit. Basel, 1914. *J. Mader*, Allgemeine Einleitung in das Alte und Neue Testament. (Lehrbücher zum Gebrauche beim theologischen Studium.) Münster, 1919. *J. E. McFadyen*, Introduction to the Old Testament. London, 1919. *J. Meinhold*, Einführung in das Alte Testament. Geschichte, Literatur und Religion Israels. (Sammlung Töpelmann i, 1.) Giessen, 1919. [A summary of the whole field of O. T. research.] *E. Montet*, Histoire de la Bible. (Collection Payot.) Paris, 1924. [Is. 15-16 is dated in 800 B.C. and Is. 24-27 in 570.] *G. F. Moore*, The Literature of the Old Testament. (Home University Library.) London, 1914. (Italian Translation by A. Pincherle: *G. F. Moore*, I libri del Vecchio Testamento. Bari, 1924.) [An admirable summary of the critical conclusions.] *D. Nieuwenhuis*, Die Bibel, ihre Entstehung und Geschichte. (Translated from the Dutch.) 3rd Edit. Berlin, 1920. *J. Nikel*, Grundriss der Einleitung in das Alte Testament. (Lehrbücher zum Gebrauch beim theologischen Studium.) Münster, 1924. *H. R. Purinton*, Literature of the Old Testament. New York, 1924. *E. B. Redlich*, An Introduction to Old Testament Study for Teachers and Students. London, 1920. *F. Rienecker*, Einführung in die Bibel. 2 vols. Blankenburg, 1923. *L. Salvatorelli* and *Hühn*, La Bibbia. Introduzione all' Antico e al Nuovo Testamento. Palermo, 1915. *E. Sellin*, Einleitung in das Alte Testament.

2nd Edit., Leipzig, 1914. 3rd Edit., 1920. [English Translation by W. Montgomery, London, 1923.] 4th Edit., 1925. [The best presentation of the results of the "formgeschichtliche Schule."] *W. Staerk*, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*. (Sammlung Göschen.) 2nd Edit. Berlin, 1918. *P. Thomsen*, *Das Alte Testament. Seine Entstehung und seine Geschichte*. (Aus *Natur und Geisterwelt*, 669.) Leipzig and Berlin, 1918. [A good summary, defending the late dating of O. T. books.] *G. Tolzien*, *Bibelkunde*. 2 Vols. Schwerin, 1923. *Vigorous*, *Bacuez*, and *Bressac*, *Manuel Biblique*. 14th Edit. I. Introduction générale. Pentateuque. Paris, 1917. II, 1. Les Livres Historiques. II, 2. Les Livres Didactiques et les Livres Prophétiques. Paris, 1920. (Vols. III and IV deal with the N. T.) [The fullest presentation of the Roman Catholic views.]

(b) *The poetry of the O. T.*

(1) General works. *W. Vollert*, *Die Schönheit der alttestamentlichen Poesie*. NKZ 32 (1921) 401-11. [A discussion of the subject matter and of the types of Hebrew poetry.] *V. Zapletal*, *De poesi Hebraeorum in Veteri Testamento conservata in usum scholarum*. 2nd Edit. Freiburg i/S. 1915.

(2) Special topics. *A. Causse*, *Les origines de la poésie hébraïque*. RHPR 4 (1924) 393-419; 5 (1925) 1-28. [Pss. 2; 20; 21; 45; 72; 110 are "de date ancienne."] *H. Jahnow*, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung*. (BZAW 36.) Giessen, 1923. [A study of dirge-poetry in the O. T. from the point of view of the "formgeschichtliche Schule."] *E. König*, *Altisraels Dichtung in ihrer Stellung zu Politik und Krieg*. Reformation 1916, 386-88. *C. J. Lyall*, *The Relations of the old Arabian poetry to the Hebrew Literature of the Old Testament*. JRAS 1914, 253-66. *D. K. Wassink*, *Het Volkslied bij Israël. Geloof en Vrijheid* 1914, 333-64.

(3) The metrical forms of Hebrew poetry. *R. A. Beardslee*, *Hebrew Poetry: A Criticism*. JBL 39 (1920) 118-30. [In contrast with *K. Fullerton* (JBL 38 [1919] 53-63), the stanza, and not the line, is considered the dominant element in Hebrew rhythm.] *M. Faulhaber*, *Die Strophentechnik in der biblischen*

Poesie. Festschrift für Hertling. Kempten, 1914. *G. B. Gray*, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry considered with special reference to the Criticism and Interpretation of the Old Testament. London, 1916. [The best general discussion in English.] *H. Gunkel*, Formen der Hymnen. TRs 20 (1917) 265-304. *G. Hölscher*, Elemente arabischer, syrischer und hebräischer Metrik. Budde Festschr. [Illustrations of O. T. metres from the Arabic and the Syriac.] *E. Isaacs*, The Origin and Nature of Parallelism. AJSL 35 (1919) 113-27. [Parallelism is based on an emotional contrast: the first half-line is intense, the second relaxed (cf. Ps. 104, 33).] *E. Isaacs*, The metrical Basis of Hebrew Poetry. AJSL 35 (1918) 20-54. [The Hebrew meter is based on the number of *morae*, not of syllables. An accented syllable counts as two *morae*, an unaccented as one (cf. the Sanskrit *āryā* meter).] *E. König*, Hebräische Rhythmik. Die Gesetze des alttestamentliche Vers- und Strophenbaues kritisch dargestellt. Halle, 1914. [The meter consists in a definite number (2, 3 or 4) of stressed syllables.] *E. Littmann*, Zum wechselnden Rhythmus in der hebräischen Poesie. ZS 2 (1923) 272-3. *M. Löhr*, Beobachtungen zur Strophik im Buche Hiob. Baudissin Festschr. *L. J. Newman* and *W. Popper*, Studies in Biblical Parallelism. I. Parallelism in Amos (Newman). II. Parallelism in Isaiah, chapters 1-10 (Popper). (University of California Publications I, 2. 3.) Berkeley, Calif., 1918. III. Parallelism in Isaiah, chapters 11-35 and 37, 22-35 (Popper). 1923. (Cf. Notes on Parallelism. HUCA II, 63-85.) [Parallelism originated in antiphonal singing and in the formulae of sooth-sayers.] *L. Naess*, Rytmen i den hebraiske tekst. Norsk Teol. Tidsskr., Dec. 1914. *J. W. Rothstein*, Hebräische Poesie. Ein Beitrag zur Rhythmologie, Kritik und Exegese des Alten Testament. (BWAT 18.) Leipzig, 1918. [The genuine ancient lyric poetry of the Israelites had no mixed meters.] *E. Sachsse*, Untersuchungen zur hebräischen Metrik. (Is 2, 2-4; Mic 4, 1-3; Is 1, 4-9; Gen 49; Is 37, 22-29). ZAW 43 (1925) 173-92. [The strophical and metrical arrangement in Hebrew poetry evolves from a comparative freedom to a limited number of fixed meters.] *F. Zorell*, Einführung in die Metrik und die Kunstformen der hebräischen Psalmendichtung. Münster, 1914.



(c) *Miscellaneous*

W. Baumgartner, Ein Kapitel von hebräischem Erzählungsstil. Gunkel Festschr. I, 145-57. [Cf. HTR 17 (1924) 299.] *H. Gunkel*, Das Märchen im Alten Testament. (RGV ii, 23-26.) Tübingen, 1917. [Cf. *O. Eissfeldt*, Die Bedeutung der Märchenforschung für die Religionswissenschaft, besonders für die Wissenschaft des Alten Testaments. ZMRW 33, 65-71; 81-5. *H. Gunkel*, Märchen im Alten Testament? Internat. Monatsschr. f. Wissenschaft 12, 427-47; 515-34.] *M. C. Hazard*, Humor in the Bible. BW 53 (1919) 514-19. *J. Hempel*, Jahwegleichnisse der israelitischen Propheten. ZAW 42 (1924) 74-104. [The Prophets compare Yahweh to a lion (never to a bull), the Psalmists to an eagle.] *G. Klameth*, Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte biblischer Lokaltraditionen Palästinas. Mährisch-Ostrau, 1914. *J. Lindblom*, Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur. Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Alten Testament. (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1924. Teologi I.) Upsala, 1924. [The prophetic literature is revealed literature, comparable to the medieval mystical works.] *A. Lods*, Le rôle de la tradition orale dans la formation des récits de l'Ancien Testament. RHR 88 (1923) 51-64. [Investigation should go beyond the written sources to the oral traditions.] *J. E. McFadyen*, Telescoped History. ET 36 (1924) 103-10. [Long developments are concentrated into a brief period in O. T. historical writings.] *H. Torcszyner*, The Riddle in the Bible. HUCA I, 125-49.

2. THE PENTATEUCH

(A) THE PENTATEUCH AS A WHOLE

(a) *The critical position*

(1) The Sources of the Pentateuch according to the Wellhausen theory. *C. R. D. Biggs*, How the Bible grew. I. The Law. London, 1914. *E. S. Brightman*, The Sources of the Hexateuch. New York, 1918. *O. Eissfeldt*, Hexateuch-Synopse. Leipzig, 1922. [In the books Gen.-Num. four sources are distinguished: L (in which the tribes are still separate entities as

in the Song of Deborah), J and E (exhibiting the union of the tribes in the monarchical period), and P.]

(2) The defense of the Wellhausen theory. *J. Harford Battersby*, Since Wellhausen. Exp 9th Ser., 4 (1925) 4-26; 83-102; 164-82; 244-65; 323-49; 403-29. [A statement of the controversy on the documentary theory of the Pentateuch and a defense of the critical position.] *Bönhoff*, Die mutmassliche Grundgestalt der priesterlichen Geschichtsquelle im Hexateuch. SS 14 (1916) 290-311. [P is an organic unity composed in Jerusalem by an author interested in the priesthood.] *S. A. Cook*, Some Tendencies in Old Testament Criticism. JTS 26 (1925) 156-73. *O. Eissfeldt*, Die Schichten des Hexateuch als vornehmste Quelle für den Aufriss einer isrealitisch-jüdische Kulturgeschichte. PM 23 (1919) 173-85. Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Pentateuch-Kritik. ZMRW 34 (1919) 113-23. *E. König*, Die Moderne Pentateuchkritik und ihre neueste Bekämpfung. Leipzig, 1914. [A rejoinder to Dahse dealing chiefly with the divine names in the Masoretic and Greek texts.] *W. F. Lofthouse*, Dahse v. Wellhausen. London Quart. Rev., Oct. 1914. *J. E. McFadyen*, Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church. New York, 1915. *D. C. Simpson*, Pentateuchal Criticism. London, 1924. [Chiefly a rejoinder to Dahse and Wiener.] *J. Skinner*, The Divine names in Genesis. London, 1914. [More technical than the preceding book.] *H. P. Smith*, Moses and Muhammed. AJT 23 (1919) 519-24. [In contrast with *R. D. Wilson*, PTR Apr. 1919, Smith concludes that a comparison of the Coran with the Pentateuch indicates that Moses was not the author of the latter.]

(b) *The conservative position*

(1) Jewish views. *D. Hoffmann*, Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausen Hypothese. II. (Beilage z. Jahresbericht d. Rabbinerseminar zu Berlin für 1913/14 und 1914/15.) Berlin, 1916. *B. Jakob*, Quellenscheidung und Exegese im Pentateuch. Leipzig, 1916. [An attempt to prove the fallacy of the documentary theory through a study of Gen. 37.] *J. Neubauer*, Wellhausen und der heutige Stand der Bibelwissenschaft. Jesch 5 (1918) 203-32. 2

(2) Roman Catholic views. *A. Colunga*, Crisis de la Critica de el Pentateuco. *La Ciencia Tomista*. Jan.-Febr. 1914. *P. Dhorme*, Pentateuque (bulletin). *RB* 34 (1925) 301-9. *A. Fernández*, La crítica reciente y el Pentateuco. *Bibl* 1 (1920) 173-210; cf. 376-8. [Moses is the author of the Pentateuch in the sense that Justinian and Napoleon are the authors of their codes.] *J. Nikel*, Die Pentateuchfrage. (BZF x, 1-3.) Münster, 1921. [The Pentateuch, and Deut. in particular, grew out of some writings of Moses.] *A. Šanda*, Moses und der Pentateuch. (AA ix, 4-5.) Münster, 1924. [Gen. was written by Moses in Midian; Ex.-Nu. are based on a diary of Moses edited by Joshua, who also wrote down the speeches of Moses in Deut. after hearing them.] *J. Touzard*, Moïse et Josué. Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique. XV (1919) 695-755. — Moïse et le Pentateuque. *Revue du Clergé Français* 99 (1919) 321-43. [Condemned by the Congregatio S. Ufficii.]

(3) The theory of *E. Naville*. *E. Naville*, Archéologie de l'Ancien Testament. L'Ancien Testament a-t-il été écrit en hébreu? Paris, 1914. [English edition, London, 1913.] — The Unity of Genesis. *Victoria Institute Transactions*. June 21, 1915. — The Text of the Old Testament. (Schweich Lectures, 1915.) London, 1916. — La composition et les sources de la Genèse. *RHR* 1918, 1-38. — La loi de Moïse. *RTP* n.s. 8 (1920) 176-223. — The Law of Moses. London, 1922. — La haute critique dans le Pentateuque. Neuchâtel, 1921. — (The Higher Criticism in relation to the Pentateuch. Edinburgh, 1923.) [Moses wrote the Pentateuch in the Akkadian language and cuneiform script. Aramaic was the language of Canaan in the time of the prophets, who wrote in this language. Ezra translated the Pentateuch into Aramaic; shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era the Scriptures were translated into "Jewish" (i.e. Hebrew) written in the square Hebrew characters.]

(4) The arguments from textual criticism against the Wellhausen theory. *G. C. Aalders*, The Wellhausen Theory of the Pentateuch and Textual Criticism. *BS* 71 (1914) 393-405. *J. Dahse*, Die gegenwärtige Krisis in der alttestamentliche Kritik. Ein Bericht. Giessen, 1914. [The Masoretic text is

too uncertain to permit any conclusions from literary and historical criticism. Cf. *E. König*, NKZ 25, 798-820.] *J. Dahse*, Is the Documentary Theory tenable? BS 71 (1914) 95-104; 331-42. [The stylistic and linguistic peculiarities that have been used as arguments for separate sources of the Pentateuch are the result of accidental textual corruption and ancient corrections.]

H. M. Wiener, First Steps in the Study of Glossing. BS 72 (1915) 602-17. [The Pentateuch has suffered through the incorporation of many "variorum" notes.] — Historical Observations on Some Chapters of Genesis. BS 74 (1917) 101-13. — Some Substitutions in Old Testament Texts. Ibid. 479-82. — A Vital New Element in Old Testament Criticism. TT 52 (1918) 164-9. — Contributions to a New Theory of the Composition of the Pentateuch. BS 75 (1918) 80-103; 237-66; 76 (1919) 193-220; 77 (1920) 305-28; 369-403. — The Greek Genesis, The Graf-Wellhausen Theory, and the Conservative Position. BS 76 (1919) 41-60. — The Law of Change in the Bible. BS 78 (1921) 73-102.

(5) Other solutions of the Pentateuchal problem. *A. II. Finn*, The Unity of the Pentateuch. An Examination of the Higher Critical Theory as to the Composite Nature of the Pentateuch. London, 1917. *A. Jirku*, Das Alttestamentliche Lehrstück von der Mosäischen Zeit. Berlin, 1918. *L. S. Keyser*, Some Specimens of Liberal Biblical Criticism. Lutheran Church Review, Apr. 1915. *M. G. Kyle*, A New Solution of the Pentateuchal Problem. JBL 36 (1917) 31-47. (Cf. BS 75 (1918) 31-69; 195-212.) — The Problem of the Pentateuch. A New Solution by Archaeological Methods. Oberlin, Ohio, 1920. [Although his classification of the laws does not disprove the Wellhausen theory, Kyle accepts the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch advocated by Naville.] *P. Metzger*, Noch einmal die Götternamen im Hexateuch. NKZ 36 (1925) 38-48; 49-69. [Elohim means the deity in general, Yahweh the god of Israel: the use of these divine names is therefore no evidence of different sources.]

(B) THE BOOK OF GENESIS

(a) *The Book as a whole*

W. S. Bishop, Genesis, — the Book of Beginnings. BS 82 (1925) 185–202. *F. M. T. Böhl*, Volksetymologie en Woordspelling in de Genesis-Verhalen. (Medeelingen der Koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afteling Letterkunde, 59, Ser. A, No. 3, 1–31.) Amsterdam, 1925. [A study of the part played by folk-etymologies, puns, homonyms, and the like on the origin of the sagas of Genesis.] *J. A. Dahse*, A Fresh Investigation of the Sources of Genesis. (Translated by F. E. Spencer.) London, 1914. *D. Devimeux*, Essai sur les procédés littéraires dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genèse. I. Paris, 1924. [Gen. 1–11 is divided into 9 poems which are attributed to Moses.] *J. Frieboes*, Die Rolle des Isaak in der israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung. TSK 92 (1919) 78–90. [Isaac was introduced to displace Ishmael.] *Ibn Sabil*, Genesis: The Book of the Bedouin. Church Quarterly Review 100 (1925) 81–95. [Bedouin elements in the Patriarchal stories.] *J. R. Smith*, Genesis. PTR 1914, 353–66.

(b) *The sources of Genesis*

(1) The J source in Gen. 1–11. *H. Gressmann*, Die Paradiessage. Tübingen, 1921. *F. Lehmann*, Jahvistens Tanke. TS Stave 220–31. *A. Menes*, Die sozialpolitische Analyse der Urgeschichte. ZAW 43 (1925) 33–62. [The cultural ascent and increasing moral deterioration of mankind culminated in Cain's return to the wilderness, where he founded the religion of Yahweh.] *J. W. Rothstein*, Die ältere Schicht (J¹) in der jahvistischen Überlieferung der Urgeschichte. Marti Festschr. [A literary analysis of the J material in Gen. 1–11.] *W. Staerk*, Zur alttestamentlichen Literarkritik. Grundsätzliches und Methodisches. ZAW 42 (1924) 34–74. [A "Stoff- und Ideenkritik" of Gen. 1–11 and 15.]

(2) J and E in Gen. 12–50. *O. Eissfeldt*, Stammesgeschichte und Novelle in den Geschichten von Jakob und seine Söhne. Gunkel Festschr. I, 56–77. [The oldest stratum (L) was chiefly tribal

history; the biographical element predominates in J and E.] *F. Feldmann*, *Propheten und Prophetisches in der Genesis*. TG 8, 304-8. *H. Gressmann*, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Joseph-Sage*. Gunkel Festschr. I, 1-55. [Two stories (dated about 1100 and 900 B.C. respectively) were combined and supplemented by an editor.] *H. Gunkel*, *Die Komposition der Joseph-Geschichten*. ZDMG 76 (1922) 55-71. [Stages of development of the material: 1. Single tales. 2. Cycles combining single tales. 3. A combination of the several cycles by J and E. 4. The extant edition.] *S. Herner*, *Athalja*. Marti Festschr. [The E document, where the mother often names the children, must be earlier than the time of Ahab; J must be considerably earlier.] *J. Horowitz*, *Die Josepherzählung*. Frankfurt, 1921. [A criticism of Gunkel.] *E. König*, *Neueste Fragen der Pentateuchkritik*. ZDMG 72 (1918) 87-110. [An analysis of the Joseph stories into J and E.] *J. Meinhold*, *Die jahwistische Berichte in Gen. 12-50*. ZAW 39 (1921) 42-57. [The J stories about Abraham, Isaac, and Jakob are analyzed into J¹ and J².]

(3) The Priestly Code in Genesis. *W. E. Barnes*, *Who wrote the First Chapter of Genesis?* Exp 22 (1921) 401-11. [Gen. 1 is a hymn "in praise of the wonder-working Word of God" (J²?) rewritten by the priestly authors.] *K. Budde*, *Wortlaut und Werden der ersten Schöpfungsgeschichte*. ZAW 35 (1915) 65-97. [Pg used in Gen. 1 a creation story of J².] *K. Budde*, *Ellä toledoth*. ZAW 34 (1914) 241-53. *Noch einmal "Ellä toledoth."* ZAW 36 (1916) 1-7. [A discussion of the authenticity of the titles "These are the generations" in the P Code of Genesis.] *W. Eichrodt*, *Die Quellen der Genesis von Neuem untersucht*. (BZAW 31.) Giessen, 1916. [Pg, the chronological framework of Gen., is a separate document; it did not contain the titles "These are the generations" nor Gen. 23.] *M. Löhr*, *Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem*. I. *Der Priester-codex in der Genesis*. (BZAW 38.) Giessen, 1924. [The P Code in Gen. consists of redactional material compiled by Ezra. Four distinct strata are distinguished in Gen. 17, as by *C. Steuernagel*, *Zu Gen. 17*. (Budde Festschr.), which is not quoted. Gen. 23 is not a part of P.] *H. W. Magoun*, *The Literary Form of the First Chapter of Genesis*. BS 79 (1922) 153-72. *J.*

Morgenstern, The Sources of the Creation Story — Genesis 1, 1–2, 4. *AJSL* 36 (1920) 169–212. [An attempt to reconstruct the original text of the creation story after omitting later additions.]

(c) THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

(a) *The Mosaic origin of the Deuteronomic code*

G. C. Aalders, De reformatie van Josia ed de Pentateuchkwestie. *GTT* 21 (1920/21) 253–67. *M. Kegel*, Los von Wellhausen! Ein Beitrag zur Neuorientierung in der alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Gütersloh, 1923. — Zur Geschichte des israelitischen Priestertums. *NKZ* 33 (1922) 642–70. — Wo opferte Israel seinem Gott? *NKZ* 35 (1924) 239–80; 483–516. — Die Kultusreformation des Josia. Die Aussagen der Kritik über 2 Reg. 22; 23 kritisch beleuchtet. Leipzig, 1919. [The book found in the Temple in 621 B.C. existed before the time of the Judges (2 Ki. 23, 32) and contained besides Deut. all Mosaic legislation existing at the time.] *M. Löhr*, Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem. II. Das Deuteronomium. (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten-Gesellschaft. Geisteswissensch. Klasse I, 6.) Berlin, 1925. *M. Möller*, Rückbeziehungen des 5. Buches Mosis auf die vier ersten Bücher. Lütjenburg, 1925. *W. H. Thomas*, Old Testament Criticism to-day. *BS* 72 (1915) 272–82. *A. Troelstra*, Deuteronomy. *BS* 81 (1924) 393–409. *H. M. Wiener*, The Main Problem of Deuteronomy. Oberlin, Ohio, 1920. (Das Hauptproblem des Deuteronomiums. Gütersloh, 1924.) (Reprinted from *BS* 77 (1920) 46–82.)

(b) *The pre-exilic date of Deuteronomy*

(1) Deuteronomy dated in the early monarchy. *T. Oesterreicher*, Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz. (BFCT xxvii, 4.) Gütersloh, 1923. [Josiah's reformation of the worship was begun before the discovery of the Book of the Law.] *T. Oesterreicher*, Dtn 12, 13 f. im Lichte von Dtn 23, 16 f. *ZAW* 43 (1925) 246–9. [Cf. *E. König*, Stimmen Ex 20, 44 und Dtn 12, 13 f. zusammen? *ZAW* 42 (1924) 337–46.] *W. Staerk*, Das Problem des Deuteronomiums. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuch-

Kritik. (BFCT xxix, 2.) Gütersloh, 1924. [Deut. 12, 14 (and also 2 Ki. 22-23) do not refer to the centralization of the worship in Jerusalem.] *A. C. Welch*, On the Present Position of Old Testament Criticism. Exp 25 (1923) 344-70. — The Code of Deuteronomy. London, 1924. — The two Descriptions of the Sanctuary in Deuteronomy. ET 36 (1925) 442-4. — When was the Worship Centralized in the Temple? ZAW 43 (1925) 250-55. [Like Oesterreicher and Staerk, Welch claims that Deut. regarded a multiplicity of altars as legitimate.]

(2) The Deuteronomic Code was the Book of the Law found in 621 B.C. *W. Eichrodt*, Bahnt sich eine neue Lösung der deuteronomische Frage an? NKZ 32 (1921) 41-51; 53-78. [The D Code is a handbook published by Josiah for carrying out his plans of reformation, which he had initiated before 621.] *H. Gressmann*, Josia und das Deuteronomium. ZAW 42 (1924) 313-37. *J. Hempel*, Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums. (Beitr. z. Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, 3.) Leipzig, 1914. [D incorporated the ancient "Temple Rule" dating from the time of Solomon (edited by a priest who introduced the idea of centralization of the worship) and another document containing military and other laws.]

(c) *The later dates of Deuteronomy*

(1) The exilic date. *G. R. Berry*, The Code found in the Temple. JBL 39 (1920) 44-51. [The Code found in 621 was not D but H (Lev. 17-26). Cf. *A. Freed*, The Code spoken of in II Kings 22-23. JBL 40 (1921) 76-80.] *F. C. Burkitt*, The Code found in the Temple. JBL 40 (1921) 166-7. [Deut. 17, 15 is a rebuke of the exiles in Babylonia for acclaiming Cyrus as the Messiah.] *R. H. Kennett*, Deuteronomy and the Decalogue. Cambridge, 1920. [Deut. was composed in Palestine during the Exile when the sons of Aaron from Bethel had taken the place of the Zadokites in the Temple. This view is substantially adopted by *F. C. Burkitt*, JTS 22 (1920) 61-5; *S. A. Cook*, Cambridge Ancient History III, 406-7; 481-3; *L. E. Binns*, Jeremiah. London, 1919.]

(2) The post-exilic date. *G. Hölscher*, Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums. ZAW 40 (1922) 161-255.

[Although D contains some ancient laws, it was composed by a Jewish priest in Babylonia close to the end of the 6th century. This view is substantially adopted by *F. Horst*, *Die Kultusreform des Josia*. ZDMG 77, 220-38. It is criticized by *W. Nowack*, *Deuteronomium und Regum* (Marti Festschr.).] *W. Spiegelberg*, *Zur Datierung des Deuteronomiums*. OLZ 26 (1923) 481-2. [Deut. 11, 4 refers to the Persian rule in Egypt (525 B.C.); cf. *W. Caspari*, *Weltreichbegebenheiten bei den Deuteronomisten?* OLZ 27 (1924) 8-11.]

3. THE FORMER PROPHETS

R. Smend, *JE in den geschichtlichen Büchern des Alten Testaments*. ZAW 39 (1921) 181-217. [An unfinished analysis of Judges, Samuel, and Kings; published posthumously by H. Holzinger.]

(a) *The Book of Judges*

O. Eissfeldt, *Die Quellen des Richterbuches*. Leipzig, 1925. [Judges is analysed into three sources, L, J, and E. Rd is reduced to a minimum; Rp disappears.]

(b) *The Book of Samuel*

T. Klaehn, *Die sprachliche verwandschaft der Quelle K der Samuelisbücher mit der Quelle J des Heptateuch*. (Doctoral Dissertation, Rostock.) Borna-Leipzig, 1914. [An attempt to prove, by means of linguistic comparisons, that the old source of Sam. is related to J.] *M. H. Segal*, *Studies in the Books of Samuel*. JQR, n.s., 5 (1914-15) 201-31; 6 (1915-16) 267-302; 555-87; 8 (1917-18) 75-100; 9 (1918-19) 43-70; 10 (1919-20) 203-36; 421-44. [A determination of the author's original work, of old material incorporated by him, and of later additions either found in the archetype of LXX or lacking therein.] *A. Schulz*, *Erzählungskunst in den Samuel-Büchern*. (Nikel Festschr.)

(c) *The Book of Kings*

I. Benzinger, *Jahwist und Elohist in den Königsbüchern*. (BWAT, n.s., 2.) Stuttgart, 1921. *G. Hölscher*, *Das Buch der*

Könige, seine Quellen und seine Redaktion. (Gunkel Festschr. I, 158-213.) [The author of Kings (Rd) used only JE, the bulk of which was E (a source dated after 586 B.C.); J reached to the division of the kingdom.]

4. THE LATTER PROPHETS

(a) *General and miscellaneous works*

K. Budde, Eine folgeschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuchs (Vortrag). ZAW 39 (1921) 218-29. [An attempt to prove that a redactor of the book of the Minor Prophets deliberately omitted the biographical material found in the books.] *M. Haller*, Edom im Urteil der Propheten. (Marti Festschr.) [The insertion of oracles against Edom and of descriptions of the last judgement, in which Edom is named, is to be explained through historical circumstances.] *J. K. R. Jensen*, Profetierne om Babels Fald. Kopenhagen, 1917. [A study of the prophécies on the fall of Babylon.] *D. H. Kyes*, The Literary Style of the Prophetic Books of the English Bible. Boston, 1919. *M. Lambert*, Quelques observations sur le caractère littéraire des Prophètes. RHR 82 (1920) 239-47. *C. C. Torrey*, Alexander the Great in the Old Testament Prophecies. (Marti Festschr.) [The allusions to Alexander the Great in Hab., Ez. 26, Joel, Zech. 9, Is. 23, etc. were more or less obliterated because prophetic inspiration was thought to have ceased before his time.]

(b) *The Book of Isaiah*

(1) The unity of the book of Isaiah. *Herzog*, Zum Verständnis des Propheten Jesaja. Schweitz. Kirchenzeit. 1915, 136-8. [Isaiah, in Is. 40 ff., addressed a Jewish diaspora, consisting of prisoners of war, in Babylonia.] *J. J. Lias*, The Unity of Isaiah. BS 72 (1915) 560-91; 75 (1918) 267-74. [The book of Isaiah exhibits "clear traces of the work of one mind."] *A. Kaminka*, Le développement des idées du prophète Isaïe et l'unité de son livre. REJ 80 (1925) 42-59; 131-69; 81 (1925) 27-48.

(2) Isaiah 1-39. *K. Budde*, Zwei Beobachtungen zum alten Eingang des Buches Jesaja. ZAW 38 (1919-20) 58. [Is. 1, 1

(or 2, 1) is the title of Isaiah's autobiography (6, 1-9, 6) which formed the kernel of the whole book.] *K. Fullerton*, The Problem of Isaiah. JR 1 (1921) 307-9. — Isaiah's Attitude in the Sennacherib campaign. AJSL 42 (1925) 1-25. [In the period 735-705 B.C. Isaiah's attitude was not anti-Assyrian.] *S. Mowinkel*, Profeten Jesaja. En Bibelstudiebok. Oslo, 1925. [Isaiah edited 6, 1-9, 6; the rest was prepared for publication by his disciples.]

(3) The Messianic prophecies in Is. 1-39. *H. C. Ackerman*, The Immanuel Sign and its Meaning. AJSL 35 (1919) 205-14. [The imminence of the birth of a Messianic being is announced to arouse in the king a renewed trust in the impregnability of Jerusalem.] *G. Beer*, Zur Zukunftserwartung Jesajas. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [Isaiah's friendly attitude to Assyria did not change. *H. G. Mitchell* (Isaiah and the Fate of his People and their Capital. JBL 37 (1918) 149-62), on the contrary, regards the anti-Assyrian oracles as genuine.] *D. H. Corley*, Messianic Prophecies in First Isaiah. AJSL 39 (1923) 220-24. [The predictions about the coming of a Davidic Messiah (Is. 9, 5 f.; 11, 1-16; 16, 5; 22, 22-24; 37, 35) were added to the book to correct the predictions about the coming of the golden age (2, 2-4; 14, 1-2; 17, 7-8; 19, 24-25; 40-66).] *K. Fullerton*, Immanuel. AJSL 34 (1918) 256-83. [Immanuel is the unborn son of Ahaz: before the child is old enough to act rationally, the doom pronounced by Isaiah against his father will have been realized.] *K. Fullerton*, Viewpoints in the Discussion of Isaiah's Hopes for the Future. JBL 41 (1922) 1-101. [Literary criticism regards the Messianic and anti-Assyrian oracles in Is. 1-39 as spurious; on the other hand Gressmann and his school have discovered that eschatology has its roots in ancient national hopes. In a discussion of this article, *K. Budde* (Über die Schranken die Jesajas prophetischer Botschaft zu setzen sind. ZAW 41 (1923) 154-203) asserts that eschatological prophecies lie outside the scope of Isaiah's sermons.] *J. Ridderbos*, De Messiaskoning in Jesajas prophetie. (Lecture.) Kampen, 1920. *A. A. Schelven*, De Immanuels prophetie (Jes. 7, 14). GTT 1920/21, 368-75. *J. M. P. Smith*, Isaiah and the Future. AJSL 40 (1924) 252-8. [All the Messianic utterances in the

book of Isaiah are spurious.] Miss *L. P. Smith*, *The Messianic Ideal of Isaiah*. JBL 36 (1917) 158-212. [The Messianic oracles (Is. 1, 24-27; 9, 1-7; 10, 33-11, 10; 32, 1-6 (?)) are genuine, the eschatological ones (11, 11-12, 6; 24-27; 35) are spurious.]

(4) Is. 40-66. *R. Abramowski*, *Zum literarischen Problem des Tritojesaja*. TSK 96/97 (1925) 90-143. [In Is. 56-66 there are two redactional units, 57, 14-63, 6; 63, 7-66, 5; the rest is secondary.] *F. Feldmann*, *Das Frühere und das Neue*. Sachau Festschr. 162-9. *J. Fischer*, *Isaias 40-55 und die Perikopen vom Gottesknecht*. Eine kritisch-exegetische Studie. (AA vi, 4/5.) Münster, 1916. [Is. 40-55 and 56-66 are by two different authors.] *H. Gressmann*, *Die literarische Analyse Deuterojesajas*. ZAW 34 (1914) 254-97. [Is. 40-55 is composed of 49 separate sections.] *A. Guillaume*, *The Servant Poems in the Deutero-Isaiah*. Th 11 (1925) 254-63; 309-19. *L. Köhler*, *Deuterojesaja (Jesaja 40-55) stilkritisch untersucht*. (BZAW 37.) Giessen, 1923. [A study of the meter and of the stylistic peculiarities of Second Isaiah.] *L. Itkonen*, *Deuterojesaja (Jes 40-55) metrisch untersucht*. (Ex Annalibus Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae.) Helsinki, 1916. *J. Marty*, *Les chapitres 56-66 du livre d'Esaïe traduits et commentés*. Paris, 1924. [Is. 56-66 are assigned to six different authors living between 538 and 445.] *J. A. Maynard*, *The Home of Deutero-Isaiah*. JBL 36 (1917) 213-24. [Second Isaiah lived in Judea, not in Babylonia. *M. Bittenwieser* (Where did Deutero-Isaiah live? JBL 38 (1919) 94-112) agrees with this view and regards the restoration as primarily the work of Palestinian Jews.] *W. O. E. Oesterley*, *Studies in Is. 40-64*. London, 1916. *O. C. Whitehouse*, *The Historical Background of the Deutero-Isaiah*. Exp 25 (1923) 241-59; 321-44; 405-26; 26 (1923) 108-29. *D. Yellin*, *The Use of Ellipsis in Second Isaiah*. JPOS 1 (1921) 132-7. [A classified list of rhetorical omissions of words and of clauses in Is. 40-66.]

(c) *The Book of Jeremiah*

G. C. Aalders, *Jeremia en de ark*. GTT 1921, 273-86. *U. Casuto*, *Le profezie di Geremia relative ai gentili*. GSAI 28 (1916)

81-152. [Jer. 25 is genuine.] *F. Horst*, Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia. ZAW 41 (1923) 94-153. [Two recensions, A and B, are discernible in the book of Jeremiah: B erroneously dates the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry in 626 B.C., the older tradition after 608.] *T. J. Meek*, The Poetry of Jeremiah. JQR, n.s., 14 (1923-24) 281-91. *S. Mowinckel*, Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia. (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1913, No. 5.) Kristiania, 1914. [Jer. 46-52 are not an original part of the book of Jeremiah; Jer. 1-45 is a combination of four sources: the original scroll of Jeremiah's oracles; his autobiography (written in Egypt); longer sermons in prose, in the vein of Deuteronomy; Jer. 30-31. Only the first two sources are genuine.] *T. H. Robinson*, The Structure of the Book of Jeremiah. Exp 20 (1920) 17-31. [The compiler of the book of Jeremiah used three collections; prophetic oracles, autobiographical notes, and biographical notices.] *T. H. Robinson*, Baruch's Roll. ZAW 42 (1924) 209-21. [The compilers of the prophetic books used three types of material: A, poetic oracles; B, biographical or historical narratives; C, poetry or literary prose in the first person. Baruch's roll is found in C.]

(d) *The Book of Ezekiel*

G. R. Berry, The Authorship of Ezekiel 40-48. JBL 34 (1915) 17-40. [Ez. 40, 1-43, 17 is dated soon after 320 B.C.; 43, 18-48, 35 is dated in 285-264 or 247-222.] *G. R. Berry*, The Date of Ezekiel 45, 1-8a and 47, 13-48, 35. JBL 40 (1921) 70-75. [The territorial arrangement of the tribes in these sections presupposes the conquests of John Hyrcanus in 130-129 B.C.] *G. R. Berry*, The Date of Ezekiel 38, 1-39, 20. JBL 41 (1922) 224-32. ["Gog" is Antiochus Eupator, who invaded Palestine in 162 B.C.] *G. A. Cooke*, Some Considerations on the Text and Teaching of Ezekiel 40-48. ZAW 42 (1924) 105-15. [The authentic sections in the last nine chapters of Ez. are: 40-42; 43, 1-12; 44, 6-8. 2-3. 9-25. 28-30a; 45, 13-15a; 46, 19-24; 47, 1-12.] *L. Dürr*, Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik. (AA ix, 1.) Münster, 1923.

[Ez. marks the passage from prophecy to apocalypse.] *R. Dus-saud*, *Les dates des prophéties d'Ezéchiél*. RHR 76 (1917) 145-64. *W. Erbt*, OLZ 20 (1917) 32-41; 160-69; 193-201; 270-74; 288-96; 21 (1918) 134-41; 176-79; 22 (1919) 192-204; 241-44. [The Book of Ezekiel was written between 535 and 523.] *C. Kuhl*, *Die literarische Einheit des Buches Ezechiél*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Tübingen, 1917.

(e) *The Book of the Twelve*

(1) The Book of Hosea. *W. W. Cannon*, *The Text of Hosea*. Exp 9th ser., 1 (1924) 24-30; 87-93; 176-85; 251-66. [Hos., "including the disputed parts, is marked by uniform diction . . . and unity of the underlying conceptions."] *W. Caspari*, *Die Nachrichten über Heimat und Hausstand des Propheten Hosea und ihre Verfasser*. NKZ 26 (1915) 143-68. [Hos. 1 and 3 are the work of the collector of the oracles of Hosea and of a later redactor.]

(2) The Book of Amos. *K. Budde*, *Zur Geschichte des Buches Amos*. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [Am. 7, 10-17 stood originally before 1, 3 or 1, 2b.] *W. Caspari*, *Wer hat die Aussprüche des Propheten Amos gesammelt?* NKZ 25 (1914) 701-15. [The collector of the oracles of Amos was a Jew living in Jerusalem.] *L. Köhler*, *Amos*. Zürich, 1917. (Reprinted from STZ 34, 1917.) [Am. is divided into 55 sections. Am. 9, 13-15 is genuine, 4, 6-12a is a Deuteronomistic gloss.] *G. Lemcke*, *Die Prophetensprüche des Amos und Jesaja metrisch-stilistisch und literarisch-ästhetisch betrachtet*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Breslau, 1914.

(3) The Book of Obadiah. *G. A. Pekham*, *An Introduction to the Study of Obadiah*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Chicago, 1919. *T. H. Robinson*, *The Structure of the Book of Obadiah*. JTS 17 (1916) 402-8. [Obad. is a collection of fragmentary oracles.] *J. Theis*, *Die Weissagung des Abdias untersucht, erklärt und gesichtet*. Trier, 1917. [Obad. is the oldest of the prophetic books.]

(4) The Book of Jonah. *W. H. Bierhaus*, *Der Prophet Jona*. Bad Homburg, 1920. *R. Cirilli*, *La légende du prophète Jonas*. Athenaeum [Pavia]. July 1915. [The story of Jonah is based

on the myth of Andromeda and Essio (cf. *Iliad* 20, 146). In *Jonah*, the dragon is the symbol of Nebuchadrezzar.] *D. E. Davies*, *Jonah: Prophet and Patriot*. London, 1924. *F. J. Lamb*, *The Book of Jonah*. BS 81 (1924) 152-69. *G. Macloskie*, How to test the Story of Jonah. BS 72 (1915) 334-38. [Whales have a laryngeal pouch large enough to hold a man.] *P. Magnus*, *The Book of Jonah*. HJ 16 (1918) 429-42. [The legend of the fish formed no part of the original story since the Psalm does not refer to it.] *A. D. Martin*, *The Book of Jonah*. HR n.s. 12 (1921) 510-19. [Jonah represents Israel going astray; the great fish is Babylon.] *F. W. Mozley*, *Proof of the Historical Truth of the Book of Jonah*. BS 81 (1924) 170-200. *R. D. Wilson*, *The Authenticity of Jonah*. PTR 16 (1918) 430-50.

(5) *The Book of Micah*. *A. Bruno*, *Micha und der Herrscher aus der Vorzeit*. Leipzig, 1923. [Micah announces the coming of a new ruler from Beth Ophrah (1, 10; 4, 8; 5, 1): he is Jerubbaal (Jud. 6-9).] *H. Gunkel*, *Der Micha-Schluss*. ZS 2 (1923) 145-78. *G. Hylmö*, *Kompositionen af Mikas bok*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Lund, 1919. [A critical analysis of the book of Micah.]

(6) *The Book of Habakkuk*. *W. W. Cannon*, *The Integrity of Habakkuk* cc. 1. 2. ZAW 43 (1925) 62-90. [Hab. 1-2 date from the time of Nebuchadrezzar and contain no post-exilic interpolations.]

(7) *The Book of Zephaniah*. *H. Weiss*, *Zephanja Kap. 1 und seine Bedeutung als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle*. (Doctoral Dissertation.) Königsberg, 1922.

(8) *The Book of Zechariah*. *W. Erbt*, *Die Urgestalt des Sacharjabuches*. OLZ 22 (1919) 49-55; 97-103 (cf. 20 (1917) 232-8). [The original book of Zechariah dates from the time of Hezekiah (Is. 8, 2). This book was re-edited four times in the period 621-200 B.C.] *K. Marti*, *Die Zweifel an der prophetischen Sendung Sacharjas*. (Wellhausen Festschr.) [The predicted crowning of Zerubbabel was eliminated from the Book of Zechariah because it did not occur.]

(9) *The Book of Malachi*. *A. von Bulmerincq*, *Einleitung in das Buch des Propheten Malachi, iii; Die Theologie des Buches*. (Acta et Commentaria Universitatis Dorpatiensis. B. Humaniora, iv, 2.) Dorpat, 1923.

5. THE WRITINGS

(a) *The Book of Psalms*

(1) General Studies on the Psalter. *E. Day*, The Reminiscences of the Psalter. *AJSL* 37 (1921) 263-99. [A classified list of historical allusions.] *S. R. Driver*, Studies in the Psalms. Edited by C. F. Burney. London, 1915. 2nd Edit., 1919. *A. C. A. Hall*, The Psalter: Its Growth, Character, and Use. London, 1916. *S. Mowinckel*, Psalmenstudien. I. Åwän und die individuelle Klagepsalmen. II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie. III. Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen. IV. Die Technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften. V. Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung. VI. Die Psalmendichter. (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse.) Oslo, 1921-24. [I. The "doers of iniquity" in the Psalms are sorcerers (cf. *A. Hjelt*, St. Buhl); the Pss. of lamentation are rituals against infirmity. II. After David, the Israelites adopted a Canaanitic New-Year festival, celebrating it in honor of the coronation of Yahweh; eschatology developed out of this annual festival (see above, p. 290).] III. In the worship, free prophetic oracles were gradually displaced by the reading of fixed prophetic Psalms. IV. The technical terms in the Psalter have a liturgical meaning. V. Blessing and curse have a magical origin. VI. Some of the authors named in the titles of the Psalms are the actual writers. In the case of David, the titles meant originally "for (the use of) David" (later understood to mean "by David").] *J. P. Peters*, Notes on Locality in the Psalter. *JPOS* 1 (1921) 122-31. [Pss. 3-41 are the Psalter of Jerusalem; 51-72 that of the Samaritan temple; the other Pss. in the pre-exilic Psalter (2-89) are those of Dan, Bethel, and the Sons of Korah; Pss. 90-150 are post-exilic liturgies.] *W. S. Pratt*, Studies in the Diction of the Psalter. *JBL* 32 (1913) 80-106; 159-83; 33 (1914) 1-24; 127-51. [The David Psalms are ancient poems re-written to give expression to the feelings of an orthodox class that regarded itself as unjustly persecuted. The "Elohim" Psalms (Books II-III) are the oldest.] *A. Vaccari*, Psaumes. (In: Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catho-

lique, IV, 474-95. Paris, 1924.) *G. W. von Zahn*, Der Einfluss der Landesnatur auf die Psalmen. Eine Anthropogeographische Studie. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 14 (1919) 1-34.

(2) Special Collections in the Psalter. *A. Causse*, Sentiment de la nature et symbolisme chez les lyriques hébreux. *RHPR* 1 (1921) 387-408. [The feeling for nature of Israel is dominated by spirituality and symbolism.] *H. H. Gowen*, The Nature Poems of the Psalter. *ATR* 6 (1923-24) 14-28. — An Old Testament "Pilgrim's Progress" (A Study of the first Group of "Songs for the Going Up"). *ATR* 7 (1924-25) 438-50. *H. Gunkel*, Die Königpsalmen. *Preussische Jahrbücher* 158, 42-68. [The royal Psalms are dated in the pre-exilic period.] *H. Gunkel*, Danklieder im Psalter. *ZMRW* 34 (1919) 177-84; 211-28. *S. Mowinkel*, Kongesalmerne i det gamle testamente. Kristiania, 1917. *F. Taoutel*, Les psaumes imprecatoires de David. *Al-Machriq* 19 (1921) 670-87.

(3) The Dating of the Psalms. *O. T. Allis*, The Bearing of Archaeology upon the Higher Criticism of the Psalms. *PTR* 15 (1917) 277-324. *M. Bittenwieser*, Are there any Maccabean Psalms? *JBL* 36 (1917) 225-48. [It is improbable that any Psalms date from a time later than 250 B.C.] *E. Goossens*, Die Frage nach makkabäischen Psalmen. (AA v, 4.) Münster, 1914. [The Maccabean date of Pss. 44, 74, 79, and 83 is disputed.]

(4) The liturgical use of the Psalms. *H. Gunkel*, Liturgien in den Psalmen. *Deutsch Evangelisch* 7 (1916) 549-55. [Pss. 85 and 126 (and Mic. 7, 7-20) are antiphonal liturgies.] *A. Miller*, Die Psalmen: Einführung in deren Geschichte, Geist und liturgische Verwendung. 5-8. Edit. Freiburg, 1924. *J. P. Peters*, Ritual in the Psalms. *JBL* 35 (1916) 143-54; cf. 324. [In some respects the Psalms may be compared to Sumerian liturgies.] *J. P. Peters*, Hebrew Psalmody. *HTR* 9 (1916) 36-55. — A Jerusalem Processional. *JBL* 39 (1920) 52-59. — *JPOS* 1 (1920) 36-41. [Ps. 84, originally a liturgy of the sanctuary at Dan, was adapted to the worship in Jerusalem after 721 B.C.] *J. P. Peters*, Another Folk Song. *JBL* 40 (1921) 81-85. [Pss. 138-44 are a collection of incantations against foes; Ps. 144, 12-14 is an ancient folk-song.] *J. P. Peters*, The

Psalms as Liturgies. New York, 1922. *L. A. Rosenthal*, Zwei liturgische Psalmen. *MGWJ* 67 (1923) 130-2. [Pss. 135 and 136 are liturgies of thanksgiving for the coming of rain.]

(5) The Classification of the Psalms ("Gattungsgeschichte"). *H. Gunkel*, Die Entstehung der Psalmen. *JJGL* 23 (1920) 26-60. *M. Löhr*, Psalmenstudien. (BWAT n.s. 3.) Stuttgart, 1922. [A criticism of Gunkel.] *F. Stummer*, Sumerisch-akkadische Parallelen zum Aufbau alttestamentlicher Psalmen. (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums ix, 1/2.) Paderborn, 1922. [Babylonian hymns, like the Biblical Psalms, can be classed as personal Psalms and public litanies; *M. Schorr* (cf. *TLZ* 42 (1917) 73-76) likewise compares the terminology of Biblical and Babylonian Psalms.] *F. Stummer*, Die Psalmengattungen im Lichte der altorientalischen Hymnenliteratur. *JSOR* 8 (1924) 123-34.

(6) The Superscriptions of the Psalms. *G. R. Berry*, The Titles of the Psalms. *JBL* 33 (1914) 198-200. [The chronological order of the collections in the Psalter is: Miktam, David, Asaph, Maskil, Mizmor, Korah, Director's.] *Hennen*, Die historischen Notizen einzelner Psalm-Überschriften. *Pastor Bonus* 1917/18, 261-64. [The historical titles of Pss. 3, 34, 51, and 60 are late additions.] *J. W. Thirtle*, The Titles of the Psalms. Their Nature and Meaning explained. London, 1916.

(b) *The Book of Proverbs*

M. T. Houtsma, A Anteekeningen of het Boek der Spreuken. *TT* 53 (1919) 6-31; 106-36.

(c) *The Book of Job*

(1) General Studies. *M. C. Hazard*, The Book of Job. *BW* 53 (1919) 60-64. *P. Humbert*, Le poète de Job. *RTP* n.s. 2 (1914) 161-77. *E. G. King*, The Poem of Job. Cambridge, 1914. *W. Knieschke*, Kultur- und Geisteswelt des Buches Hiob. (ZSF xv, 9-12.) Berlin-Lichterfelde, 1925. [A study of the ideas and cultural background of the Book of Job and an attempt to determine its successive editions.] *A. D. Martin*, The Book of Job. *ET* 26 (1914-15) 75-81. *S. M. Provence*, The

Book of Job, an Interpretation. *Revue and Expositor* 13 (1916) 201-13.

(2) The theological Problem of the Book of Job (cf. p. 286). *W. Bade*, The Book of Job and the Solution of the Problem of Suffering it offers. 2nd Edit. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1914. *J. E. McFadyen*, The problem of Pain: A Study in the Book of Job. London, 1917. *K. Müller*, Die Auslegung des Theodicee-Problems im Buche Hiob. TB 1 (1922) 73-79. *T. F. Royds*, Job and the Problem of Suffering. *Interpreter*, July 1915. *E. Sellin*, Das Problem des Hiobbuches. Leipzig, 1918.

(3) The Date of the Book of Job. *H. Beveridge*, The Date of the Book of Job. JRAS 1919, Apr. [Cf. *V. L. Trumper*, *ibid.*, Oct., 586-7.] *F. A. Lambert*, Das Buch Hiob aus dem Hebräischen ins Deutsche übertragen. Berlin, 1919. [The Book of Job was written by Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.] *J. P. Naish*, The Book of Job and the early Persian Period. Exp 9th Ser., 3 (1925) 34-49; 94-104. [The Book of Job reflects the depressing conditions in Judea in 477 B.C. or a little earlier.]

(4) Critical Questions. *F. Buhl*, Zur Vorgeschichte des Buches Hiob. (Marti Festschr.) [In the original Book of Job the friends vainly exhorted Job to turn away from God (cf. Eccclus. 49, 9; James 5, 11). The poet reversed the attitude of Job and of his friends. Later an attempt was made to harmonize the two recensions.] *K. Fullerton*, The Original Conclusion to the Book of Job. ZAW 42 (1924) 116-36. [The original conclusion was 38, 1-40, 5.] *J. Jeffrey*, The Massoretic Text and the Septuagint compared, with Special Reference to the Book of Job. ET 36 (1924-25) 70-73. *H. Torczyner*, Hiobdichtung und Hiobsage. MGWJ 69 (1925) 234-48. [The poet describes the conversion of Job, an Edomitic worshipper of El Shaddai, to Yahweh (cf. Pss. 90-91).]

(5) The Book of Job and Greek Literature. *T. M. Barbaliscia*, Giobbe e Sofocle. Il libro di Giobbe e l'Edipo da Colono di Sofocle. Saggio biblico-letterario. Naples, 1917. *H. M. Kallen*, The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy restored. With an Introduction on the Original Form and Philosophic Meaning

of Job and an Introduction by *G. F. Moore*. New York, 1918. [Cf. HTR 12 (1919) 219-24.] *J. Neyrand*, Le livre de Job et les poèmes d'Homère. Etudes lix, 173 (1922/24) 129-51.

(d) *The Song of Songs*

The Song of Songs. A Symposium. Philadelphia, 1924. [*M. L. Margolis* asserts that the book was admitted to the canon as a collection of songs. *J. A. Montgomery* is of the opinion that the book is not the source of the erotic expressions in mysticism. *W. W. Hyde* compares the book to the 27th Idyl of Theocritus. *F. Edgerton* compares it to the Gita Govinda (12th Cent.). *T. J. Meek* connects Canticles with the Tammuz liturgies (cf. below). *W. H. Schoff* deals with the materials used in sacrifice.] *U. Cassuto*, Il significato originario del Cantico dei Cantici. GSAI n.s. 1 (1925) 23-52. [Following Wetzstein and quoting extensively from the Talmud, Cassuto regards Canticles as an epithalamium.] *R. Dussaud*, Le Cantique des Cantiques. Essai de reconstruction des sources du poème attribué à Salomon. Paris, 1919. *T. J. Meek*, Canticles and the Tammuz Cult. AJSL 39 (1922) 1-14. [The book preserves an echo of the ancient Tammuz-Ishtar cult.] *T. J. Meek*, Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs. JBL 43 (1924) 245-52. [A transcription and translation of an Assyrian catalogue of love songs.] *S. Minocchi*, Le perle della Bibbia: il Cantico dei Cantici e l'Ecclesiaste. Bari, 1924. [Canticles was originally a mystery play in six episodes. An orthodox Jew of the 3rd Cent. wrote all of Eccl., excepting 12, 9-14.] *O. Neuschotz de Jassy*, Le Cantique des Cantiques et le mythe d'Osiris-Hetep. Paris, 1914. [In Canticle, a Jewish author living in Alexandria translated in part the lamentations of Isis seeking Osiris. Cf. *J. Halévy*, Le Cantique des Cantiques et le mythe d'Osiris-Hetep. RS 22 (1914) 248-55.] *P. Riessler*, Zum Hohen Liede. TQ 100 (1919) 5-37. *S. H. Stephan*, Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs. JPOS 2 (1922) 199-278. [54 Palestinian love songs in Arabic and English.] *P. Vulliaud*, Le Cantique des Cantiques d'après la tradition juive. Paris, 1925. *L. Water-*

man, The Rôle of Solomon in the Song of Songs. JBL 44 (1925) 171-87. [In the original version the lover was Nergal, but the Northern Israelites substituted the detested Solomon for this god of the underworld.]

(e) *The Book of Ruth*

C. E. Smith, The Book of Ruth. BS 82 (1925) 177-84.

(f) *The Book of Lamentations*

W. W. Cannon, The Authorship of Lamentations. BS 81 (1924) 42-58.

(g) *The Book of Ecclesiastes*

G. R. Berry, The Purpose of the Book of Ecclesiastes. Review and Expositor 13 (1916) 88-98. M. Devine, Ecclesiastes, or the Confessions of an Adventurous Soul. New York, 1916. P. Humbert, Qohéleth. RTP n.s. 3 (1915) 253-77. [An analysis of Eccl. following in the main that of Podechard (1912).] W. P. Paterson, A Sage among the Prophets. ET 26 (1914-15) 105-10. F. Plate, The Lebensanschauung des Buches "Prediger Salomo." Reformation 1914, 446-51. H. Ranston, Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature. London, 1925. [Eccl. was influenced by Theognis.] J. R. Smith, Ecclesiastes. PTR 16 (1918) 262-79.

(h) *The Book of Esther*

W. E. Beet, The Humorous Element in the Old Testament. Exp 22 (1921) 59-68. H. Gunkel, Esther. (RGV ii, 19/20.) Tübingen, 1916. [The present Book of Esther is the elaboration of a simpler tale about Hanan's plot to exterminate the Jews. The book is dated in the Persian or early Greek period.] H. Gunkel, Das Königsschloss von Susa und das Buch Esther. TLZ 44 (1919) 2-4. [The palace excavated in Susa was known to the author of Esther.] J. Hoschander, The Book of Esther in the Light of History. JQR n.s. 9 (1918-19) 1-41; 10 (1919-20) 81-119; 11 (1920-21) 307-43; 12 (1921-22) 35-55; 151-94. (In book form: Philadelphia, 1923.) [Ahasuerus is not Xerxes, but Artaxerxes II. The chief incidents of Esth. are

discovered in Plutarch's biography of Artaxerxes II. Cf. *J. P. Naish*, *Fresh Light on the Book of Esther*. Exp 25 (1923) 56-66.] *C. E. Smith*, *The Book of Esther*. BS 82 (1925) 397-402. *M. Wolff*, *Is het Boek Esther historie of fictie?* TT 50 (1916) 75-120. [An attempt to prove the historicity of Esth.]

(i) *The Book of Daniel*

(1) Traditional views on the early date of the Book of Daniel. *C. Boufflower*, *In and around the Book of Daniel*. London, 1923. [An attempt to prove the historicity of Daniel by means of archaeological arguments.] *A. H. Burton*, *Hints on the Book of Daniel*. London, 1921. *A. Colunga*, *Los vaticinios mesianicos de Daniel*. *Ciencia Tomista* 12 (1920) 285-305. *W. Erbt*, *Die Chronologie des ersten nachexilischen Jahrhunderts*. OLZ 21 (1918) 6-17; 33-41. [Distinguishes five editions of Dan., of which the first is dated in 562 B.C. and the last after 486 B.C.] *G. Stossmann*, *Die Erlebnisse und Gesichte des Propheten Daniel*. Gütersloh, 1922. *W. St. C. Tisdall*, *Egypt and the Book of Daniel, or what say the Papyri?* Exp 22 (1921) 340-57. [A comparison of the Aramaic of Daniel with that of the Papyri of Elephantine leads the author to the conclusion that Dan. is earlier in date.] *A. C. Welch*, *Visions of the End*. *Studies in Daniel and Revelation*. London, 1922. *R. D. Wilson*, *Studies in the Book of Daniel. A Discussion of the Historical Question*. New York, 1917. [An attempt to prove the early date and the historicity of Daniel. See also a series of articles in PTR: 13 (1915) 352-408; 14 (1916) 448-74; 15 (1917) 90-145; 19 (1921) 529-45; 20 (1922) 57-68; 177-211; 21 (1923) 161-201; 337-71; 541-84; 22 (1924) 1-26; 377-401.]

(2) The Maccabean date of Daniel. *W. Baumgartner*, *Das Buch Daniel*. *Christliche Welt* 1925, Nos. 31/2 to 37/9. *G. Hölscher*, *Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel*. TSK 92 (1919) 113-38. [Dan. 1-6 were written in the 3rd Cent.; Dan. 7 (into which references to Antiochus Epiphanes have been interpolated) later, but still in the 3rd Cent.; Dan. 8-12 are dated 168-164 B.C.; the glosses in chs. 2 and 7 are later, 9, 4-19 (20) are later still.] *M. Haller*, *Das Alter von Daniel 7*. TSK 93 (1920-

21) 83-7. [Dan. 7, as emended by Hölscher (see above) should be dated in the time of Alexander, before Dan. 1-6.] *E. Hertlein*, *Der Daniel der Römerzeit. Ein kritischer Versuch zur Datierung einer wichtigen Urkunde des Spätjudentums.* Leipzig, 1918. *E. B. Hooper*, *Daniel and the Maccabees.* With a foreword of *E. L. Hicks.* London, 1917.

(3) Oriental parallels to the Book of Daniel. *C. J. Ball*, *Daniel and Babylon.* Exp 19 (1920) 235-40. [The poem known as "The Babylonian Job" presents close parallels to Dan. 4.] *B. Heller*, *Traumerraten im Buche Daniel.* ZAW 43 (1925) 243-6. [The guessing of a forgotten dream (Dan. 2) is an original feature in the Book of Daniel; it has parallels only in Arabic literature.] *J. Offord*, *The Warning Writing on the Wall at Belshazzar's Banquet.* PEF QS 48 (1916) 196-201. [Ancient Oriental parallels.] *T. J. Pinches*, *Fresh Light on the Book of Daniel.* ET 26 (1914-15) 297-9. *H. H. Rowley*, *The Belshazzar of Daniel and History.* Exp 9th ser., 2 (1924) 182-95; 255-72. [What we know about Belshazzar the son of Nabonidus from Babylonian sources indicates that the account in Dan. is not purely fictitious.]

(j) *The Books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles*

W. F. Albright, *The Date and Personality of the Chronicler.* JBL 40 (1921) 104-24. [The Chronicler was Ezra; he lived in the time of Artaxerxes II.] *J. A. Bewer*, *The Gap between Ezra, Chapters 1 and 2.* AJSL 36 (1919) 18-26. [Torrey has not succeeded in recovering the missing portion between Ezr. 1 and 2. *C. C. Torrey* (*The Chronicler's History of the Return under Cyrus.* AJSL 37 (1921) 81-100) reiterates his former view, namely that 1 Esd. 4, 43-5, 6 is the Chronicler's account of the return under Cyrus and that it belonged after Ezr. 1.] *M. Kegel*, *Die Kultusreformation des Ezra: Aussagen moderner Kritik über Nehem. 8-10 kritisch beleuchtet.* Gütersloh, 1921. *J. Meinhold*, *Ezra der Schriftgelehrte?* (Marti Festschr.) [The historicity of Ezr. 7 and Neh. 8-10 is defended against Torrey, Mowinckel, and Hölscher.] *S. Mowinckel*, (1) *Statholderen Nehemia.* (2) *Ezra den Skriftlaerde.* (Studier til den jødiske

menighets historie og litteratur, I and II samling.) Kristiania, 1916. [(1) A determination of the authentic Memoirs of Nehemiah in Neh. 1-7; 12-13. Zerubbabel returned to Jerusalem under Darius; Neh. 8 has nothing to do with the introduction of the Law; Ezra was active after Nehemiah; Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem is unhistorical. (2) The P Code was composed in Palestine in 537-520 B.C. Ezr. 7-10 and Neh. 8 are the work of a naively pious eyewitness of the events, not of Ezra.] *E. Podechard*, Les references du Chroniqueur. RB 24 (1915) 236-47. *J. Touzard*, Les Juifs au temps de la periode persane. RB 24 (1915) 59-133. [A defense of the historicity of the Book of Ezra. Nehemiah's activity precedes that of Ezra, who came to Jerusalem with the Law in 398.]

BOOKS RECEIVED

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